NON-FORMAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN CAPE TOWN: *STRUGGLING TO LEARN OR LEARNING TO STRUGGLE?*

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Abstract

In the past, non formal education in South Africa was committed to supporting the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in opposition to apartheid. Such non-formal political education was concerned with education for democracy, that is, preparing people *for* democracy. Post 1994, adult education policy has focused on vocational training, which has shifted the focus away from education for social purpose. My concern was that democracy is a process and a system that constantly needs to be nurtured. This requires citizens that know their constitutional rights and responsibilities, and how to put them into action. In view of this, I decided to enquire what kind of education exists that aims to build civil society by promoting social justice and social reconstruction in the new democracy.

My research critically investigated and analysed the political education programmes in three organisations in Cape Town, Western Cape: an NGO, a trade union congress and a social movement registered as an NGO. They focused on supporting the efforts of people who are unemployed (Alternative Information and Development Centre), shop stewards (Congress of South African Trade Unions) and HIV positive people (Treatment Action Campaign). These programmes aimed to develop an 'active' and 'critical thinking' new layer of 'leadership'. This thesis explores how participants in three organisations understand their roles and identities as participants, activists and as citizens; the spaces and dynamics through which they engage and participate to express their interests, the learning that happens in these spaces through education and collective action, and the participants' relationship to issues of democracy, participation, rights and accountability. This qualitative study employed a case study methodology. It used observation, document review and semi-structured interviews to gather data. The study used concepts drawn from citizenship education and popular education to analyse data.

The education offered by these three organisations was popular education in theory, but not always popular education in practice. The participants started: acquiring knowledge and skills for campaigning: learning about the constitution; seeing that the personal is political; becoming more active; showing signs of critical thinking; evidencing active emancipation; and evidencing signs of critical emancipation. Due to a compromised facilitation process, my recommendations are that the facilitators start: putting *process* in focus; avoiding banking education; making follow-ups of report backs a priority; putting a sexist free education environment in focus; eradicating intimidating facilitator behaviour; and developing practical material. My study has shown that critical citizenship education, which raises participants' awareness about injustice and oppression, can help them voice their most immediate felt needs through solidarity and action.

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> Love has no other desire but to fulfil itself (Kahlil Gibran, 1983, p. 17).

Declaration of originality

I Kristin Endresen declare that

(i) The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.

(ii) This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

(iii) This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

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   a) their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced;

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Signed: _____

Kristin Endresen
01 December 2009

As the candidate's Supervisor I agree/do not agree to the submission of this thesis

Signed: _____

Dr Vaughn Mitchell John
01 December 2009

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Currency

On December 23 2008 1 UK Pound Sterling was equivalent to 14,67 South African Rand and one US Dollar was equivalent to 9,89 South African Rand).[1]

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[1] I received this information on the 30 December, 2009 when I phoned the ABSA foreign exchange department, Umhlanga Ridge branch.

List of Abbreviations

AAC	All Africa Convention
ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
AEC	Anti Eviction Campaign
AIDC	Alternative Information and Development Centre
Aids	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
APF	Anti Privatisation Forum
ART	Anti-Retroviral Treatment
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
BCE	Before Common Era
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BLL	Bureau of Literacy and Literature
CATA	Cape African Teacher Association
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CCF	Concerned Citizens Forum
CCMA	Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration
CCS	Centre for Civil Society
CHMT	Community Health Media Trust
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CRC	Children's Resource Centre
CWU	Communication Workers Union
DA	Democratic Alliance
Ditsela	Development Institute for Training, Support and Education for Labour
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
ERP	Education Rights Project
FAS	Foetal Alcohol Syndrome
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNU	Government of National Unity
GPI	Global Peace Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRD	Human Resource Development

HSRC	Health Sciences Research Council
IDASA	Institute for a Democratic South Africa
IHRG	Industrial Health Research Group
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ILRIG	International Labour Research and Information Group
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JIPSA	Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition
KZN	KwaZulu Natal
LCO	Local Campaign Organisers
LPM	Landless People's Movement
LRA	Labour Relations Act
LRS	Labour Research Service
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
MTCT	Mother To Child Transmission
NACTU	National Council of Trade Unions
NEC	National Executive Committee
NEHAWU	National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union
NGO	Nongovernmental organisation
NP	National Party
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
NSB	National Standards Body
NSM	New Social Movements
NUM	National Mineworkers Union
NUMSA	National Union of Metal Workers South Africa
NWM	New Womens Movement
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
OSM	Old Social Movements
POPCRU	Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RPL	Recognition of Prior Learning
R2W	Right to Work
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACHED	South African Committee for Higher Education
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACTWU	South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union

SAMWU   South African Municipal Workers Union

SANCA   South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependency

SANCO   South African National Civic Organisation

SANGOCO   South African NGO Coalition

SAQA   South African Qualifications Authority

SATAWU   South African Transport and Allied Workers Union

SECC   Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee

SRC   Students Representative Council

TAC   Treatment Action Campaign

TATA   Transvaal African Teachers Union

TINA   There is No Alternative

TRIPS   Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights

UCT   University of Cape Town

UDF   United Democratic Front

UK   United Kingdom

UKZN   University of KwaZulu-Natal

UN   United Nations

UP   United Party

USA   United States of America

UWC   University of Western Cape

VAT   Value Added Tax

WSF   World Social Forum

WTO   World Trade Organisation

Chapter 1
Context of Study

1.1 Introduction

The quest for strengthening democracy is dependent on greater socio-economic equality. South Africa is a polarised society with big differences between rich and poor. 15 years into democracy, people are still waiting for basic service delivery (housing, water, electricity and sanitation). A democracy needs citizens who participate beyond four-yearly elections: it needs an active civil society with informed citizens. There exists growing concern with declining citizen confidence in the political establishment and the failure of representative democracy to ensure equality of opportunity for all. Dissatisfaction over lack of service delivery has sparked off waves of protest across the country. In order to build a functioning democracy it is important to develop an understanding of what citizenship is and how to practice it. Given the history of disenfranchisement in South Africa, this is particularly important.

The advent of liberal democracy, with the first free and fair democratic elections, in April 1994, represented a political revolution and turning point in South African history. The demise of apartheid was heralded nationally and internationally as a victory for democracy and human rights. In the education sector, this new beginning offered both unique opportunities and responsibilities for reconstructing fragmented and racist educational structures and establishing a unified national system underpinned by 'democracy', 'equity', 'redress', 'transparency' and 'participation' (Department of Education, 2001a). Coming in the wake of the long liberation struggle the transition to democracy unleashed a wave of expectations. The 'people's government' was expected to deliver employment and housing, health and education, prosperity and wellbeing for all.

In 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) stormed to victory in the euphoric atmosphere of the first democratic election. The ANC had received 62.7% of the vote and became the biggest party in the Government of National Unity (GNU) (Dwyer, 2002). It came to power on an election platform based on the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that served as the basis for economic and social policy after April 1994 aimed at addressing the apartheid legacy. Broadly, the RDP can be described as a Keynesian state-led development programme. With regards to its citizenry, the GNU's approach to development was spelt out explicitly in the RDP

Development is not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It is about active involvement and growing empowerment (African National Congress, 1994, p. 5).

The RDP commitment to 'active involvement and growing empowerment' of the people previously engaged in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) seemed to indicate a clear ongoing role for political education and participation. Given past experiences with non-formal popular political education that was part of building an active citizenry during the struggle against apartheid, non-formal adult education was expected to contribute to building the new democratic South Africa (Alexander, 1990; von Kotze, 2003).[2] Non-formal education played a fundamental part to the struggle *for* democracy. In any democracy, new or old, it is critical that people still learn *about* democracy. This is because democracy is not a once-off achievement. Democracy means freedom, equality and participation. A democracy needs an active and independent civil society. This requires that people are able to critically analyse what is happening to them and around them in order to make calculated choices for social justice.

This presents adult educators with the opportunity to provide people with educational tools to enhance their struggle for democracy. Yet, as I will show later, currently the main focus of education policy and provision in South Africa is on vocational training and Human Resource Development (HRD), and organisations that used to engage in non-formal education have shifted their focus to 'capacity building' or been forced to close down due to a lack of funding.

This chapter sets out the origins of, and motivation for the study. It provides a background sketch of the continuing inequalities in post-apartheid South Africa, and some of the specifics of poverty in the Western Cape. The chapter paints a broad contextual canvas, identifying some of the key factors that locate the study. It provides an overview of civil society organisations that have engaged in social and political struggles in recent years, as well as the growth of an Human Resource Development education discourse internationally and locally. The chapter ends by setting out the aims and focus of the study and identifies the research questions that guided the research.

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[2] von Kotze, A. (2003). Re-asserting social responsibility: Adult Education beyond the nineties, unpublished.

1.1.1 A shift in GEAR

Just two years after the new GNU came to power, the RDP was replaced by the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy. The GEAR strategy promised 'rebuilding' and 'restructuring' of the economy. This 'integrated economic strategy' promised to assist the government to successfully confront the related challenges of 'meeting basic needs', 'developing human resources', 'increasing participation in the democratic institutions of civil society' and implementing the RDP in all its facets (Department of Finance, 1996). GEAR followed the 'Washington Consensus', which encouraged privatisation and the deregulation of public services (Gelb, 1991).[3] Like other neo-liberal policies GEAR advocated a reduction of spending on social services and implemented strategies for cost-recovery. Not surprisingly, therefore, critics of GEAR suggested that it is similar to a home grown self-imposed World Bank structural adjustment policy (Bond, 2000, 2004; Michie & Padayachee, 1997).

There have been various attempts to explain the move away from the RDP. The realisation that capital was under no obligation to stay in South Africa contributed to greater conservative thinking in the ANC, quickly moving away from RDP policies such as nationalisation and towards privatisation and fiscal discipline (McKinley, 1997; Dennis, 2003). Before 1994, South Africa was somewhat economically and politically isolated from the rest of the world. Post-1994, the government has sought to reintegrate the country on terms most favourable to attracting and generating domestic and international investment (Dwyer, 2002). The ANC was trying to strike a balance between social justice and capital accumulation.[4]

Whilst there has been social and economic development this is uneven and combined with the continuing legacy of apartheid and indeed the worsening of some problems such as

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[3] The *'Washington Consensus'*, a phrase coined by John Williamson, refers to ten policy areas in which decision-makers worldwide accepted a neo-liberal agenda as part of a conscious strategy pursued by successful American administrations in order to maintain United States of America hegemony in the post-Cold War era (Brenner, 1998): fiscal discipline, public expenditure priorities, tax reform, financial liberalization, competitive exchange rates, trade liberalisation, foreign direct investment, privatisation, deregulation and property rights (Broad & Cavanaugh, 2000 cited in Callinicos, 2003, p. 2). The Washington Consensus played a crucial role in binding the US Treasury, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank together (Callinicos, 2003).

[4] For a more detailed analysis of the South African transition to democracy see Alexander (2002).

unemployment and HIV/Aids, the country is still very much faced with the challenges of becoming a socially just democratic society for all. The new economic policy introduced in 1996 has done little to redress past inequalities. Even conservative institutions such as the World Bank have now admitted that the promises of GEAR are unfulfilled. As Michie and Padayachee (1997, p.1) suggest: 'One of the key reasons for lack of progress has, however, been an ideological one, namely the widespread acceptance of economic orthodoxy, from stabilization to trade liberalization and privatisation'.

Here, just three major issues serve to highlight the frustrated expectations of people, post-1994: inequality, unemployment and inefficient and inadequate health services.

1.1.1.1 Inequality

The pattern of poverty and wealth in South Africa largely takes a racial form, where being born into one of the four classified racial groups, can determine ones future.[5] For example, mid-year 2007, South African population group estimates stated that black Africans constituted 38 079 900 (79,58%) of the total population, Coloureds 4 245 000 (8,87%), Asians 1 173 700 (2,45%) and Whites 4 352 100 (9,1%) (Statistics South Africa, 2007a). In the fourth quarter of 2008 it was estimated in the *Quarterly Labour Force Survey* that black African people constituted 27,4% of all unemployed people, 'Coloureds' 19,2%, Indian/Asian 11,7% and Whites 4%. It was estimated that average unemployment in the country was 23,2% (Statistics South Africa, 2008a).

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[5] It is important to remind ourselves that during apartheid (1948-1994), people were divided into four racial classifications: Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites. Political activists and others rejected this classification as racist. 'Black' was, and still is, a political (not cultural) term referring to the 'non-white' oppressed majority of the population. I will use this term, although, at times, it will be necessary to use terms such as 'African' and the reader should imagine they have invisible quotation marks around them. The term Black has a progressive and political connotation and is an all-inclusive term referring to all South Africans who are not 'white'. 'Coloured', 'legally', referred to persons of 'mixed blood' – often, but not always, meaning African and White. 'Bantu' or 'native' were terms used by the apartheid regime (broadly the state, comprising the 'government' headed by the National Party (NP), civil service, judiciary, police and the army) to refer to 'African' people: indigenous people whose descendants' presence in the region pre-dates the arrival of European settlers. 'Indian' refers to people descendant from South Asia (often indentured labour) and 'White' to descendants of European and other settlers.

Approximately 50% of the South African population lives below the poverty line (Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Fact Book, 2007).[6] There has been growth of a black middle class – this may mask the gross inequalities, especially in the cities, yet the ever-widening gap between haves and have-nots is obvious when we look at the *Community Survey* by Statistics South Africa (2008b). 1 202 358 black Africans and 27 688 Whites earn between R 401 (£27,33 or $40,55) - R 800 per month. 1 988 187 black Africans earn between R 801 (£54,60 or $80,99) - R1 600 (£109,06 or $161,77). However, 4 689 black African people and 14 416 White people earn between R 204 801 (£13960,53 or $ 20707,87) and more. Taking these numbers into account and bearing in mind that there are far more black African people (79,58%) in South Africa than there are White people (9,1%), it is obvious that there still is a much larger number of White people earning well as compared to black African people.

Extreme economic inequality determines who will gain access to decent equipped schools, health care and jobs. Statistics South Africa (2008c) estimates that 14, 3% of the population had private medical aid coverage. According to Statistics South Africa (2008c), 34,6% South Africans aged 7-24 years were not attending an educational institution from 2002-2007 because of no money for fees. The Global Peace Index (GPI) (2008) estimates that only 15,6% of the South African population accessed tertiary education. The 'lost generation' who in the past had none or little formal schooling are the ones that are failed by the education system also today. This is exemplified in my sample group of interviewees. They all fall in the category of previously disadvantaged people (black African and Coloured).

1.1.1.2 Unemployment

Statistics South Africa's *Labour Force Survey* suggests that the official unemployment rate in South Africa has declined from 25.5% of unemployed adults in September 2001 to 23% unemployed in September 2007 (Statistics of South Africa, 2007b). Of these, 35% were black Africans. In September 2001, estimates showed that 54% of youth between the ages of 15-24 were unemployed - this figure had declined to 49% in September 2007.[7] While a decline may be

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[6] In world terms, the global study from the World Institute for Development Economics Research of the United Nations on wealth distribution from 2000, directed by Anthony Shorrocks estimates that approximately 1% of the richest adults in the world own 40 % of the planet's wealth (Mail & Guardian, 2006b). More than a third of these individuals live in the United States. Japan accounts for 27% of the total, the United Kingdom (UK) for 6% and France for 5%. The report stated that the richest 10% of adults accounted for 85% of the world total of global assets. Moreover, it found that half the world's adult population owned barely 1% of global wealth. For a critical analysis of poverty from a global perspective see Davis (2006).

[7] For an independent statistics on unemployment in South Africa see Afrol News (2009).

a cause for celebration a look at the enormity of the figures hardly suggests an improvement in real terms: when half of a country's young people are unemployed this suggests a potentially huge number of disaffected people and crime statistics, violent behaviour and hopelessness are a great cause of concern. Not surprisingly, the group hardest hit by unemployment in each category are black Africans. The *Quarterly Labour Force Survey* in quarter three (2009) reveals that unemployment reached 23,2% in July – September 2008 and 23,6% in April – June 2009 (Statistics South Africa, 2009).

Much of the unemployment can be attributed to shifts in industry, away from manufacturing. Furthermore, permanent, good quality employment in the formal economy is being replaced by contract work and casual jobs without job security and benefits. 'The manufacturing sector looks set to enjoy continued growth, but without creating additional jobs in the short term... Manufacturing is the second largest contributor to GDP after financial, real estate and business services, and is therefore vital for job creation' (Business Day, October 4 2005). The then general secretary of the Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (SACTWU), now MP (Member of parliament) Ebrahim Patel, told the trade union's ninth national congress that 'The story of job losses has been one of the tragic results of 10 years of freedom' (Cape Times, 2004).

Restructuring the public service sector in terms of reduced public spending also resulted in massive job losses. The anger in response to this was reflected in the turnout of one of the biggest public sector strikes in post-apartheid South Africa on 16 September 2004 (SAFM, 2004).[8]

1.1.1.3 Health

In keeping with the neo-liberal policy of GEAR public spending was reduced dramatically and, as always, poor people are feeling the brunt of this most acutely. Whilst not sufficiently funding public spending and bemoaning its limited resources, in 2000 the government chose to reduce those resources further by cutting company tax from 48% to 30%, so saving businesses more than $1 billion. At the same time, it planned to spend R43 billion on the purchase of military

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[8] However, the then Deputy President, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, formally launched the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA) in February of 2006, and the Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (Jipsa) was established a month later to address scarce and critical skills needed to meet AsgiSA's objectives. AsgiSA has its origins from the commitment to halve unemployment and poverty by 2014. For further details on AsgiSA, see South African Government Information (2008).

hardware, the contracts for which are mired in a corruption scandal involving members of the government.[9] This is seven times the yearly amount allocated to local government to provide municipal services.

The health sector is one example that illustrates both the rising inequality in the country, and the impact of reduced public spending on the wellbeing of its nation (Campbell, 2003). The private healthcare sector provides care for about seven million people, or close to 15% of all South Africans, but costs more than the total expenditure of the public health sector. The per capita expenditure in the private health sector is about eight times more than that in the public health sector. The private sector spends an estimated 5.5% of gross domestic product, and employs more doctors, pharmacists and dentists than the public health sector (Motsoeneng, 2008). This is happening in a country where HIV/Aids is one of the most pressing socio-political matters with approximately 5,27 million people infected. According to *The National HIV and Syphilis Prevalence Survey South Africa,* the HIV prevalence for 2007 was 17,64% (Statistics South Africa, 2007c).[10] The International Labour Organisation (ILO) says that HIV/Aids have cost South Africa $70 billion over ten years (Taho, 2004).

While problems related to unemployment, inequality and inadequate health services affect all regions in South Africa the Western Cape adds its own dynamics. This study is focused on three organisations in the Western Cape, and it is therefore useful to understand the specific context of the Western Cape.

1.1.2 Specifics of the Western Cape

The political, economic, and social legacies of apartheid are interwoven with regional idiosyncrasies that, in comparison with the country as a whole, evolved most particularly in the Western Cape and gave rise to a section of the population classified under apartheid as 'Coloured' who, unlike in any other part of South Africa, outnumbered black African people. Of the 4.2 million people in the province, 58% are predominantly Afrikaans-speaking 'Coloureds', 20% white English and Afrikaans-speaking people and 19.1% isiXhosa-speaking black African people (Government Communication and Information System, 2009).

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[9] See South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) (2007) for details on this and the campaigns against privatisation programmes such as Igoli 2002.

[10] Due to HIV/Aids, African life expectancy at birth is projected to drop to 38 years for men and 39 years for women by 2010 – this is down by more than 20 years from 1995 levels (Simkins, 2002, p. 2). For more on HIV/Aids, see Department of Health (2007), Barnett and Whiteside (2002), Keeton (2005) and Treatment Action Campaign (2008)

Historically in the Western Cape Province, there has been a broader range of non-aligned leftwing groups than is generally found in the rest of the country. This tradition goes back to the late 1930s. Up until the formation of the Western Cape section of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in April 1983, the main leftwing groups in the province were the Unity Movement and the Cape Action League. Politically independent activists have always tried to maintain independence from the ANC tradition. Cape Town is the only major city not controlled by the African National Congress (ANC). A Democratic Alliance (DA)-led coalition has governed the city since the 2006 municipal elections, taking over from the ANC (Mail & Guardian, 2007). This diversity in culture and political affiliation may account for a tradition of debate said to be more vibrant than elsewhere in South Africa.

It is estimated that 150 000 children born annually in South Africa are affected by a significant birth defect or genetic disorder. The Department of Health's four priority conditions are albinism, Down's syndrome, Foetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) and neural tube defects (South African Government Information, 2008). Substance abuse is rife in Cape Town, specifically amongst young people and the unemployed. FAS affects urban poor people as much as agricultural workers outside the cities. FAS is a disease of poverty because the effects are most severe when the mother herself is small and malnourished. The levels of the syndrome are higher on the outskirts of towns, including farms. Alcoholism is particularly rife in the Western Cape region due to the vineyards and the unequal working conditions imposed on the farm workers. The notorious '*dop* system', in which alcohol was part of a worker's wages, have created a culture of drinking within these communities. Today enterprising '*shebeen*' owners and taxi drivers take '*bakkie*-loads' of alcohol to farms where workers buy it, often on credit.[11] In this climate of excessive drinking, alcoholism is also linked to gender based violence. The level of urgency around this matter is also expressed in the number of non-profit and community based

[11] Shebeens are most often located in black townships in South Africa as an alternative to bars. Under apartheid, black people could not enter a bar reserved for white people. Originally, shebeens were operated illegally, selling homebrewed alcohol and providing people with a place to meet and discuss political and social issues. Shebeens also provided music and dancing, allowing people to express themselves culturally. Today, shebeens are legal in South Africa and have become an integral part of South African urban culture. Bakkie is an Afrikaans word for a small open motor truck.

organisations in the Western Cape Province challenging violence against women and children, such as for example Western Cape Network on Violence against women, Sonke, People Opposing Woman Abuse (POWA), New Womens Movement and so forth. Even though HIV prevalence in the Western Cape is one of the lowest in South Africa, illnesses such as tuberculosis (TB) and Aids exacerbate conditions in poor communities in the Western Cape (Beresford, 2007).

Given the aforegoing, many South Africans in the Western Cape are struggling to escape not just unemployment, but poverty-related issues such as alcoholism, gender based violence, HIV/Aids and transactional sex. From 1 to 18 December 2008, 282 incidences of rape (49 on children) were reported nationally to the South African Police Service (e-news, 2008). One in four women and one in five men experience rape at some stage in their life. It is in this kind of context that we must situate any discussion of current political education. As I will show later, alcoholism and gender based violence are big issues in the three organisations studied.

1.1.3 Citizens' responses to the crisis: the story of Princilla Moloke

The story of one person illustrates the conditions of hardship of many: Princilla Moloke lives in Mandela Park – the squatter camp in Imizamu Yethu outside Hout Bay in the Western Cape. She is one of the more than two million South Africans on housing waiting lists. She is 44 years old and has never slept in a brick house. She explains:

> I was sitting on my bed washing myself in a bucket and I saw this man on TV2 talking about how many millions and millions of rands South Africa has made since Mbeki became our president and I thought: Ag *kak* [crap] man, where's that money? Who gets it? Why am I still living like an animal in a *hok* [cage]? ... I don't know what it means when the minister say he will spend millions of rands on houses. I understand if somebody arrives with a lorry with bricks and sand and cement. So, I changed to TV1 and watched *Days of Our Lives* – which I do understand (Joubert, 2007).

The increasing sense of disillusionment that the new government failed to 'deliver a better life for all' created various responses from the citizens. Many people who had expected that the 'people's choice' of a political party would ensure social services, housing, health and education responded with anger, others with disengagement. Many people who had been active in the past have become disillusioned with the new government and tired of 'struggle' politics and turned apathetic, even refusing to vote or spoiling their vote in elections. Another response was discontent and protest particularly over lack of basic services and antiretroviral treatment for

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HIV/Aids, housing and land. Discontent was demonstrated through boycott of electoral politics, as well as in the development of alternative grassroots formations.

Lodge (2001) contends that since the demise of apartheid in 1994, mass mobilisation and resistance politics have turned into electoral politics and this has had a profound effect on support and ways of mobilising on the ground; the most obvious activism in the years following 1994 appeared in the months preceding local and national elections. Yet, there is also a re-emergence of popular movements beyond this.

1.1.4 Civil society organisations

Post-1994 South Africa has seen the emergence of a number of organisations of civil society that can broadly be understood as citizens' responses to unemployment and unsatisfactory living conditions such as the lack of basic services like housing, health, water and electricity – commonly referred to as 'social movements' (Desai, 2003).

Broadly, these social movements call for greater state spending on public services. This is explicitly the case with movements such as the Anti Privatisation Forum (APF), the Education Rights Project (ERP), the Anti Eviction Campaign (AEC), the Landless People's Movement (LPM), the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC), the Concerned Citizens Forum (CCF), the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) and Abahlali baseMjondolo (The Shack dwellers Movement in Durban).[12] Post-1994, one has also seen the emergence of environmental organisations such as the Environmental Justice Network Forums, Groundwork and Durban South Base.

A wave of local protest against lack of basic service delivery and housing erupted first in September 2004 in Harrismith in the Free State and subsequently spread throughout the country. In February 2005 there was a wave of demonstrations at tertiary institutions as a result of 'unhappiness with government spending on services and education' (Michaels, 2005). In February 2005 'The People's Budget Campaign' was started by COSATU, the South African

[12] The United Nations (UN) Special Envoy for HIV/Aids, Stephen Lewis, compared the TAC with some of the greatest 'social movements' of the twentieth century and the 'anti-globalisation' movement of the twenty-first century at the TAC National Congress the 3rd of August 2003 in Durban. That the TAC is understood as a social movement is further exemplified by their inclusion in the first national post-apartheid social movements' research project currently underway in the School of Development Studies and the Centre for Civil Society (CCS) at UKZN. For a critical analysis on HIV/Aids and 'silence' in South Africa, see Leclerc-Madlala (2004).

Council of Churches (SACC) and the South African NGO Coalition (SANGOCO). The campaign urged the government to 'prioritise spending on social security, land, domestic violence law enforcement, free basic services such as water and electricity, education and health' (Michaels, 2005).

In 2006, South Africa had the biggest public sector strike since the apartheid era. In the same year the security workers went on strike. Similarly, the South African Transport and Workers Union (SATAWU) strike in 2006 caused a wave of disruptive violence due to dissatisfaction amongst the workers and the daily violence of poverty and dangerous working conditions.[13] Growing grassroots dissatisfaction with poverty, unemployment and government spending of public money has caused turbulence at community level, and is a real threat to future political and economic stability.

The Western Cape Coalition against unemployment and poverty emerged on 22 August 2005 as an initiative organised by the broad left. The Coalition was started by a group of trade unions, social movements and NGOs with the aim of building a united front to save jobs and fight job losses and increasing poverty. The initiative received extensive local and national media coverage and was immediately termed 'the new UDF' by some journalists and politicians since it was based on some of the principles behind the UDF, such as its United Front approach.[14]

In the light of these developments I asked myself: what happened to the tradition of non-formal political education? Non-formal education had played an important part in the struggle against apartheid. It was concerned with the provision of literacy education and political education to black workers and people in civil society. What happened to non-formal education, citizenship education and its concerns? Is there still non-formal education action that continues the legacy or has all education succumbed to the demands of functionality and vocationalism as inherent to Human Resource Development (HRD)? The so-called apathy and the focus on HRD suggest that there is little non-formal education that continues the legacy of the past.

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[13] For instance, I participated in the COSATU Mayday Rally 2006 in Cape Town at the Cape of Good Hope Centre. The programme was disrupted when a union official spoke without acknowledging the struggle of the SATAWU members for better wages and safe working conditions.

[14] For further details, see Kassiem (2005).

1.1.5 The focus on Human Resource Development (HRD)

This part will discuss the focus on HRD in South Africa and more generally. Walters (1997) suggests there are two ideological trends in adult education and learning: the humanistic tradition and the human capital tradition. The humanistic tradition has been concerned with building communities, supporting cultural practices and advancing political beliefs. The notion of human beings learning throughout life (the human capital tradition) has been a trend in developed countries since the Second World War (Youngman, 2000). In the past, this implied that all humans were understood as capable of developing their personal skills or human resources. The World Bank (1991a) argues that in order to promote capital accumulation

> The challenges are to use employer, private and public training capacities effectively to train workers for jobs that use their skills and to do so efficiently in developing economies increasingly influenced by technological change and open to international competition (cited in Youngman, 2000, p. 71).

As elsewhere, adult education in South Africa is increasingly viewed as an investment in human capital rather than a concern with building communities, supporting cultural practices or advancing political beliefs. Martin (2000) suggests that 'Education is the engine of economic competitiveness in the global market' and that, as such, people are understood to be producers, consumers, clients, learners and so forth (p. 12). Similarly, Baatjes (2003), Cooper (2005b) and von Kotze (2005a) suggest that adult education has been reduced to becoming an instrument to ensure that workers gain specific skills to help make South Africa more competitive on the global market.[15]

Coffield (1999) argues that human capital theory is an attractive theory because it diverts attention away from fundamental causes of low productivity and it converts deep-seated economic problems into short-lived educational projects. Coffield (1999) rejects the consensus that lifelong learning is a cure for a wide range of educational, social and political ills. He views lifelong learning as a form of social control, which treats lifelong learning as contested terrain between employers, unions and the state. Lifelong learning is used to socialise workers to the escalating demands of employers to become more 'flexible' and more 'employable', which translates into more part time workers, longer hours and increasingly insecure jobs (p. 488).[16]

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[15] As this debate goes beyond what I intend to discuss, see Walters (1997) and Motala and Vally (2002) for more information on this issue.

[16] For more critical literature on the dominating lifelong learning paradigm and its influence on employment and working conditions, see Beck (2000).

The emphasis on HRD signals a shift in language from education to learning. Boshier (1998) states that 'If Lifelong Education was an instrument for democracy, Lifelong Learning is almost entirely preoccupied with the cash register' (p. 5). Biesta (2005a) argues that the 'language of education has largely been replaced by a language of learning' (p. 54).[17] In the process, Biesta (2005a) notes that 'teaching' has become redefined as 'supporting' or 'facilitating learning' and education is described as 'the provision of learning opportunities' or 'learning experiences' (p. 55). One of the main problems with this 'new language of learning' says Biesta, (2005a) is that it allows for a 'redescription' of the process of education in terms of an economic transaction 'in which education becomes a commodity' (p. 58).

This so-called transaction views the learner as the 'consumer' and the traditional educator or educational institution becomes the 'provider'. The shift has forced a reduction in the public spending for adult education and consequently, an introduction of cost-recovery fees on courses that were once free (Youngman, 2000). The government has created the conditions for a 'learning market' in which everyone (supposedly) has the same opportunities to access (buy) education and training. In their rush to better employment chances, learning that is not directly related to earning has taken a backseat. The concepts of 'lifelong learning' or the development of 'a learning society' have become the aim for many governments across the world rather than encouraging the need for 'permanent education'.

However, the vision of lifelong education is reflected in a Department of Education document, which states that

> Our vision is of a South Africa in which all people have equal access to lifelong education and training opportunities which will contribute towards improving the quality of life and build a peaceful, prosperous and democratic society (Department of Education, 1996).

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[17] Biesta (2005a) points out that 'just as language makes some ways of saying and doing possible, it makes other ways of saying and doing difficult or even impossible' (p. 54). Subsequently, he notes that this is partly why 'language matters to education'. In this context, he notes that the languages one has available to speak about education determine to a large extent what can be said and done, and what cannot be said and done. According to Biesta (2005a) the language of learning has made it feasible to express ideas and insights that were rather difficult to articulate through the language of education. On the other hand, he notes that other aspects of what education is or should be about have become increasingly more difficult to articulate (p. 55).

Yet, the South African National Qualifications Framework (NQF) is a concrete product of lifelong learning, as it seeks to increase learning opportunities throughout a life cycle. The NQF requires that all qualifications and standards must be nationally registered, and that all education and training must be quality assured.[18] The introduction of Outcomes Based Education (OBE) has shifted the emphasis on 'inputs' to that of 'outcomes'.[19]

In the apartheid era, many workers were exploited due to an education system and a workplace, which deliberately ignored the skills of the workers, paying low wages and denying workers access to further education and training. At that time, Adult Basic Education (ABE) was viewed as the responsibility of the government. The introduction, however, of training (T) partly shifted the responsibility to industry (Baatjes, 2003). Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) was adopted by government, labour, business and civil society (Republic of South Africa, 2000). ABET supposedly 'reflect[s] the greater integration of education and training' (Baatjes, 2003, p. 180).

Observing such trends I asked myself: What happened to non-formal education and its concerns? The socio-economic conditions on the ground that result in inadequate opportunities for schooling remind us why non-formal education and the old traditions of 'conscientisation' are such important issues for ordinary citizens. I decided to conduct some research in order to investigate what is left of the old legacy of non-formal education and popular education, after GEAR.

1.2 Non-formal Citizenship Education in Cape Town today: Struggling to learn or Learning to struggle?

The context outlined above serves to explain what motivated this thesis and research focus. von Kotze (2005a) suggests that non-formal education pre-1994 was committed to supporting the mass-democratic movement in opposition to apartheid, as part of 'People's Education for People's Power' (p. 12). Post-1994, adult education policy and provision has focused on the

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[18] Linked to the NQF is The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) Act (Act no. 58 of 1995) that aims to develop and implement the National Qualifications Framework (NQF). Moreover, the National Standards Body (NSB) advises SAQA on registration, standards and evaluation mechanisms. There are 12 NSBs, one for each learning area established by SAQA. For a critical view on the NQF see Cooper (1998).

[19] For further literature on OBE in South Africa see Jansen & Christie (1999) and Pretorius (1998).

vocational aspect of education and the needs of the market (von Kotze, 2005b; Baatjes, 2003; Avoseh, 2001).

The Department of Education (1996) lays particular emphasis on the importance of education as fundamental for economic prosperity, assisting South Africans, both individually and collectively, to escape the poverty trap characterising many of South Africa's communities. Similarly, the Department of Labour argues that skills development is a key element of the Department of Labour and Government's strategy to address the legacy of apartheid and to halve unemployment by 2014 (Department of Labour, 2005).[20] Education is reduced to 'training for work' and preparing people for their roles in production, irrespective of whether jobs exists (Martin, 2000, p. 12).

In this new historical climate 'citizenship' and 'citizenship education' have become crucial issues. At the time I was conducting my research, a decline in voter participation prompted debate on the implications of 'citizenship' and 'citizenship participation' on the Vuyo Mbuli 'After Eight Debate' morning programme on national radio (SAFM, May 2005-May 2006). The programme discussed whether the decline in voter participation was due to voter apathy or disappointment about basic service delivery. Concepts such as citizenship and citizenship education carry through into current debates in the media around citizenship, such as those provoked by the recent xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa which produced a series of violent outbreaks across the country (SABC2, 2008).[21]

The issue of xenophobia extends beyond my research topic, but it is an indication that citizenship is an important issue. From listening to debates on national radio stations, I discern that there exists a language of citizenship and citizenship participation. This does not automatically mean that such a language and debate translates into practice in homes, communities and public forums and organisations.

Arguably, the real threat to South Africa's new democracy comes not from apathy but from anger and disillusionment about politics and a government that is not delivering. The recent xenophobic attacks that spread throughout the country showed that poverty and unemployment accompanied

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[20] For in-depth information on The National Skills Development Strategy 2005-2010 see Department of Labour (2005).

[21] The xenophobic attack started in Alexandria township on May 12, 2008 and spread around the country, leaving more than 62 people dead and an estimated 17 000 displaced, according to the police (Mail & Guardian, 2008).

by increasing food prices can contribute to further violence and victimisation of foreign nationals. A democracy needs an active and independent civil society. This requires that people are able to critically analyse what is happening to them and around them in order to make calculated choices for social justice. It is partly an educational task to help make such anger constructive and hopeful. This presents adult educators with the opportunity to provide people with educational tools to enhance their struggle for democracy and citizenship.

Although non-formal education before 1994 may not explicitly have set itself the task to contribute to 'education for democracy', i.e. preparing people 'for' democracy, it often provided future leaders with democratic experiences and understanding. It was my intention to enquire what kind of education exists now, that aims to build civil society by promoting social justice and social reconstruction in the new democracy. Therefore, I decided to investigate if in post-apartheid education there was an 'educational impulse' that targeted primarily the citizen ('homo civicus') rather than the person looking for work ('homo economicus') (Wildemeersch, Finger, & Jansen, 1998).

1.3 Introducing this Study

The title of my dissertation is related to my previous research on informal learning in the TAC in Durban, which showed that activists learnt about democracy, solidarity, constitutional rights 'by doing' (Endresen, 2004a, 2004b). Is the purpose of citizenship learning fulfilled through action learning? My research on TAC in Durban suggested that it did not. The title of this study is also related to my experiences in civil society organisations such as the TAC and the New Womens Movement (NWM) in Cape Town since 2003.

Activist Zakes of the TAC asked: 'Why is there so high unemployment in a country with a stable economy?' Another TAC activist asked: 'We fought for democracy, for our government. Why are they not saving us from dying?' (Endresen, 2004a) For example, as part of celebrating June 16 2005 in Khayelitsha and launching a campaign on unemployment, the NWM organised a public speak out on how unemployment affects young women (age 14-25). None of them had a job and many were unable to pay their school fees. Two women out of seventy had one parent with casual employment as domestic workers. The young people asked the following questions:

Why are young people with degrees unemployed?
How can I pay my school fees when my parents don't have a job?
How can I afford to say no to money for food from an older guy?
Why are the politicians not sharing [the resources]?

These questions suggested a need for a type of deliberate education that can help people understand why such things are happening. Little research exists on *deliberate education* for civil society in Cape Town. In the context of South African 'democracy' the question which my thesis set out to address was: '*Non-formal citizenship education in Cape Town: struggling to learn or learning to struggle*?' Given that non-formal education has a long history in Cape Town, the first part of the title speaks to non-formal education, often articulated as 'popular education'.

From my previous involvement in civil society organisations I had noted that many facilitators referred to the education that they provided as political education or popular education. I never came across any facilitators who referred to the education that they provided as citizenship education. I will discuss this in further detail in chapter 5 where I suggest a new definition of citizenship education as popular education. I decided to investigate if there was any provision of deliberate education to encourage citizen participation. Citizenship education can include education for workers as well as education for people in civil society. Given all of this, I decided to use the term citizenship education to capture any current education impulses of the old tradition of political education in South Africa. I used citizenship education as a lens to assess if the three education programmes were examples thereof.

This thesis analysed the political education programmes in three organisations: an NGO, a congress and a social movement registered as an NGO. These organisations were all at the forefront of the Western Cape Coalition, which aimed to build a united front against unemployment and poverty. They focused on supporting the efforts of shop stewards (COSATU), people who are unemployed (AIDC) and HIV positive people (TAC). The three organisations fought for employment, better working conditions in their place of employment and a decent public health service.

The AIDC aimed to amplify, focus and impact upon the unemployment crisis by building an Unemployed Peoples Movement centred on campaigning for 'The Right to Work' (R2W). COSATU trained shop stewards from their affiliates in Cape Town to strengthen the trade union movement. The TAC aimed to build a Peoples Health Movement to struggle for a better public health service. They aimed to do so through grassroots, bottom-up, network-based modes of organisation that operated in local communities. This involved facilitating political education on how globalisation affects local communities, as well as addressing alternatives to neoliberal policies such as the GEAR policy in South Africa. It also involved developing campaigning skills, and addressing problems such as domestic violence and substance abuse.

The second part of the title addresses the learning process. Were they 'struggling to learn', *about* democracy, both in terms of content and process? I intended to find out what potentially made such learning difficult. Additionally, I asked if there was evidence of them 'learning to struggle', *for* democracy? Were they learning the tools and strategies needed to mobilise and organise people around issues concerning them all? What education aimed to strengthen their struggle for: permanent employment, fair labour practices and a decent public health service?

Can deliberate education of this nature help reconstitute public spaces where citizens learn to become active and democracy is made to work? This thesis aimed to establish whether such education reproduces structures and relations of power and class interests or whether it contributes to developing active citizens who may then be better placed and informed to critically engage with, and so change, the environment in which they find themselves. Therefore, this research is also about the lives of activists and citizens, and about the broader dynamics of social, political, and economic transformation in Cape Town. The study explores how participants understand their role and identities, the ways in which they express their interests, the learning that happens, and their relationship to issues of democracy, participation, rights and accountability.

The sub-title of my dissertation is 'struggling to learn or learning to struggle?' Given the history of educational provision in South Africa it would not be surprising to find people struggling with concepts of democracy, citizenship, and the like. Citizenship education aims to facilitate such learning and my research looked at whether and how participants 'struggled to learn'. In order to answer the second part – how citizenship education is a tool for advancing particular campaigns and deepening democracy, that is, teaching people 'how to struggle', I asked the following questions:

> How do selected organisations in post apartheid South Africa go about developing active or critical [critically thinking] citizens?
> What is it that people need to learn to become active or critical [critically thinking] citizens and how do they learn it?
> What are facilitators' and participants' understandings of 'citizen' in post-1994 South Africa?

Little in-depth investigation exists on current non-formal citizenship education in Cape Town. My research presents a critical and thorough study of selected current forms of non-formal citizenship education in Cape Town.

1.4 Exploring Deliberate Education for Social Change in Cape Town

The research happened in two phases. Firstly, drawing on the history of non-formal education that emerged prior to 1994 (which I will explain in chapter 3), I identified specific sectors and institutions that had historically been associated with non-formal citizenship education such as, for example, the labour movement, community-based organisations and social movements. Having established a range of organisations that offered citizenship education I selected the three abovementioned organisations, based on who scored highest on my three criteria: 'quantity' and highest regularity of training, a broad 'target audience', and 'specificity of purpose'. Based on this, I selected AIDC, COSATU and TAC. These criteria and this process will be outlined further in chapter three.

Secondly, in order to establish in-depth understanding and to answer my research questions I conducted interviews with Cape Town-based facilitators and local and national participants. I observed the education in the three organisations and I also looked at literature, pamphlets, brochures, posters and t-shirts of the three organisations. I attended meetings and demonstrations organised by the three organisations in and around Cape Town. All this took place between May 2005 and May 2006.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

Although my research is informed and guided by clear definitions of citizenship education such terms and definitions are not used by the facilitators in the three organisations, whom I will introduce in chapter 4. Communication posed some problems as I tried to understand what type of non-formal education they provided. No one that I met referred to the education as 'citizenship education'. This did not mean that citizenship education did not exist. As I will show in chapters 4 and 5, all the facilitators referred to the provision of such education as popular education.

The vast majority of the participants spoke Afrikaans or Xhosa as their mother tongue. Most of the interviewees spoke English as a second language. My mother tongue is Norwegian and my second language is English. I used English as the medium of communication. For one of the interviews in COSATU I used a translator from Afrikaans to English. In fact, I did two interviews at the same venue and so the one participant translated for the other one. Due to language limitations at times, meaning got lost in translation.

I am aware that there exists a large body of citizenship theory and citizenship education theory in European and North American literature that I have not referred to in this thesis. This is largely because my focus is on South Africa and as such it represents a different context. However,

many South African policies are based on European models and so I have drawn upon theorists that I find useful for my research.

Data generated are specific to the three case studies. Given that I focused on the Cape Town metropolitan area, my intention is not to make generalisations based on my data but merely to suggest 'good practices' and further research questions and areas. I will elaborate on the above mentioned issues in chapter 3.

1.6 Overview of Thesis

Chapter 2 provides a brief history of formal adult education policy in South Africa before 1994, as well as the provision of non-formal education in order to understand current non-formal education practices. The conceptual framework situates the thesis in the debates about non-formal citizenship education theory (Johnston, 1999; Coare & Johnston, 2003) and popular education theory (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999). The chapter elaborates on the concepts of democracy, citizen, citizenship and citizenship education, and discusses popular education theory and why this can be seen as citizenship education. I use Inglis (1997) to help me distinguish between education for 'empowerment' and education for 'emancipation'.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology and the fieldwork. This chapter is concerned with the processes of conducting the research – how the process started and developed. It will outline the tools used for data collection and explain how I analysed the data, ending with a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the fieldwork and a critical evaluation of using a case study.

Chapter four presents the data collected. This is the chapter in which activists 'speak for themselves'. I will group the data into various sub headings in order to give meaning and context to the data and for purposes of analysis. This chapter is in two parts. Part 1 is about the institutional framework of the education, the three organisations, and outlines their philosophy. Since the facilitators were often also the planners of workshops I let them speak for themselves here, in order to construct a full picture of the intentionality behind the training.

Part 2 is about the participants that help make up the educational 'practice', their interests and concerns. Weaving their life histories into the social processes and relationships outlined in previous chapters enables us to find out more about their role and reflections on their participation in various struggles post-1994: how they became politically active, what they learnt, the ways in which they developed as activists through political education and how this was reinforced through action. It explores a number of themes relating to the participants' relationship

to issues of democracy, participation, rights, accountability, power, globalisation, neo liberalism, poverty and unemployment.[22]

In chapter 5 I discuss my research questions (Appendix D). Having let the participants speak for themselves in chapter 4, I will here discuss how the three programmes encourage participants to become active and critical thinking people. This will involve a discussion of how the participants understand 'democracy', 'empowerment' and 'participation', along with other related issues, twelve years down the line of South African democracy.

As part of answering if the three education programmes were examples of citizenship education I will discuss how the three programmes can be characterised as popular education, hence form part of what can be called citizenship education. Finally, I suggest an answer to the questions: Are they struggling to learn or learning to struggle? I conclude with a review of the thesis and, drawing upon the primary and secondary data, looking at the ways in which activists are affected by their participation, how we can understand this process, and any changes in their 'world view'.

Lastly, chapter six draws conclusions from the findings and the analysis. I end by highlighting the implications and recommendations of the findings for our understanding and use of, and debates around, non-formal citizenship education in contemporary South Africa.

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[22] Most of the participants identified themselves as activists but I refer to them as participants since my research is on them as participants in a particular training programme.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Lawy and Biesta (2006) point out that there has been a 'renewed interest' in questions of citizenship and in 'particular its relation to young people' over the last few years (p. 34). Why has the debate about 'citizenship' and 'citizenship education' become so prominent? Crowther and Martin (2005a) say passive citizens' involvement or participation in politics and social affairs is mostly restricted to electoral voting and argue that the disengagement of citizens from the politics of the state is an increasingly widespread problem for democracy in many countries (Crowther & Martin, 2005a). They highlight that: 'Studies of political attitudes and behaviour consistently indicate that both cynicism and scepticism about politics and politicians are growing' (p. 213).

The pursuance of developing democracy is dependent on greater socio-economic equality. In South Africa, there exists growing concern with declining citizen confidence in the political establishment and the failure of representative democracy to ensure equality of opportunity for all. Across South Africa, dissatisfaction over lack of basic service delivery has sparked off waves of protest. A democracy needs citizens who participate beyond four-yearly elections: it needs an active civil society with informed citizens. In order to build a functioning democracy it is important to develop an understanding of what citizenship is and how to practice it. Given the history of South Africa, this is particularly important.

Little South African literature exists on citizenship education and the term is poorly understood. There are various social movement studies that talk about issues such as being a citizen or learning to be a citizen in South Africa (Robins & von Lieres, 2004; von Lieres, 2006; Williams, 2004), but few large studies exist that look at established non-formal citizenship education within civil society organisations and movements. In South Africa, key terms and expressions used as alternatives to 'citizenship education' are, for instance, 'education for democracy', 'popular education', 'empowerment', 'citizenship participation' or 'social movement learning'.

Even though the term citizenship education is not used widely in South Africa, this does not mean that citizenship education as a practice is non-existent. Today, citizenship education appears as other types of education such as voter education around election time. Generally, citizenship education is described in broad terms. Arguing for a better working democracy, IDASA talks

about strengthening civil society so that all citizens can become 'active' and 'empowered' in order to 'participate' more fully in the democracy (Institute for Democracy in South Africa, 2007).

This chapter presents a literature review of various forms of citizenship education and citizenship learning. Looking at much of the literature in adult education and community development today, it is obvious that citizenship and civil society are prominent topics. However, there is not much literature produced on citizenship education in South Africa. Most of the literature that I found on citizenship education is from Europe and North America. This is largely because the discourse of citizenship education developed in Europe and the United States (Callinicos, 2001), and is linked to Gidden's (1998) idea of the Third Way.[23]

Crowther and Martin (2005a) argue that the Third Way of the British New Labour is essentially about the restructuring of the welfare state and the 'hitching up' of social and educational policy to the imperatives of economic policy (p. 209-210). Crowther and Martin (2005a) suggest that the conditions in which citizenship is defined and enacted must be understood as a construct of policy, and that lifelong learning, in its current form, 'is a way of dealing with the social, economic and political consequences of policy change and managing the discursive shifts involved in this process' (p. 210). They cite Tony Blair as saying 'Education is the best economic policy we have' (Crowther & Martin, 2005a, p. 210).

In order to contextualise the debate about democracy, citizenship and citizenship education, this chapter will proceed by presenting a brief background to South Africa in general, to formal education policy and non-formal education before 1994. Historically, the shifts in formal education policy in South Africa show how, as a form of social control, education was always linked to re-producing a labour force suited to the needs of political and economic trends. Kallaway (1984) proposes that an analysis of 'educational issues has to be located within the broader context of political, social and economic change if we are to grasp the more general, structural significance of shifts in educational policy' (p. 1). Similarly, an analysis of non-formal education has to be situated within the context of formal education policy and political and economic changes. The denial of social and political rights to the majority of the population in the past, coupled with economic crises generated opposition in the form of a broad based liberation

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[23] The Third Way is the political philosophy of Tony Blair and New Labour in Britain, Bill Clinton in the USA and Gerhard Schroder in Germany. The Third Way claims to offer a strategy for renewing the Centre Left that avoids the free-market liberalism of the New Right and the state socialism of the Old Left (Callinicos, 2001). It is commonly referred to as 'social liberalism' or 'neo-liberalism with a human face'. See also Giddens (1994).

movement which coalesced in part around an educational 'counter movement' that was consciously part of the larger struggle against apartheid. Non-formal adult education helped prepare and support people in their struggle against apartheid and democratic processes in such education were key to 'People's Education for People's Power' (Gardiner, 1984) and the slogan 'education for liberation' (Alexander, 1990) in South Africa. Any discussion of the political economy of adult education during apartheid would therefore be incomplete without reference to the history of non-formal education (Alexander, 1990). Therefore, in the following, I want to outline the context in which to understand my three case studies.

Firstly, I will show how formal education in the past saw Black people as labourers and producers of economic growth. This is important in order to understand the non-formal education often provided by the MDM. Secondly, I will briefly outline the history of non-formal education up to 1994. This part will show how non-formal education saw black people as 'people', 'citizens' and an oppressed class. Non-formal education involved literacy education and oppositional political education for workers and women through class conscientisation and progressive theatre in the MDM. Thirdly, I elaborate on concepts related to democracy, citizen, citizenship and citizenship education (Marshall, 1950; Barbalet, 1988) to help me generate conceptual definitions that will help me characterise some citizenship education in Cape Town in chapter 5. For this, I draw on the influential work of Coare and Johnston (2003) that offers four kinds of citizenship learning: inclusive citizenship, pluralistic citizenship, reflexive citizenship and active citizenship, of which they argue popular education is a central component.

Fourthly, I discuss the difference between learning for citizenship and education for citizenship. Here I argue that *education* goes beyond self-directed or incidental learning because education is a deliberate decision based on purpose with implications for facilitation process and methodology. To illustrate the importance of such education I give examples of citizenship education in the world and South Africa in the past and more broadly. This involves popular education theory (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999; Freire, 1990) since popular education was an important part of adult education in the apartheid era (von Kotze, 2005b) and it encourages critical thinking and organised action (Kane, 2001). Finally, I will show how popular education constitutes what could be defined as citizenship education, and I will suggest a focus on critical citizenship education.

2.2 A Brief Background to South Africa: Before 1994

2.2.1 Colonisation and industrialisation

The first two centuries of colonisation in South Africa, from the time of the initial Dutch East Asia Company settlement at the Cape in 1652, were characterised by 'pre-capitalist forms of

exploitation of slavery' (Callinicos, 1988, p. 10), indentured labour and feudal relations (Elphick & Giliomee, 1979). Feudal relations involved the exchange of labour services from the African peasantry, with the colonizers charging rent in cash for the land they had previously taken from the peasantry by force (McKinley, 1997). This coincided with the emergence of 'merchant capitalism' on a global scale by the emerging European capitalist powers Holland and Great Britain. The development of capitalist relations of production came to dominate South Africa from 1867 onwards with the discovery of diamonds (McKinley, 1997).

Callinicos (1988) describes South Africa as an extreme case of the law of uneven and combined development in that

> it is a capitalist social formation, in which the mass of the population have been separated from the means of production and therefore, in order to live, must sell their labour power to the small majority which enjoys exclusive possession of these means of production and which in itself is divided into a set of competing capitals geared to the accumulation of surplus-value extracted from the wage-labourers they employ (p. 9).

In South Africa, 'the small majority' mainly referred to the economic elite of the white population and 'the mass of the population' referred to the majority of black people, although it also included some poor white people. The conditions in the mines together with a fixed gold price required cheap labour, which was provided by the disintegration of African agriculture (Callinicos, 1988). The implementation of the Native Land Act of 1913 allocated less than 13% of the land to the Reserves designated for 'African' people and denied them the right to own land outside these areas (McKinley, 1997, p. 5). The main reasons for passing this land act were: the desire for the expanding industrial and mining sector to take away the land from 'Africans' so they would be accessible as cheap wage labour to facilitate capital accumulation; to impose unsustainable living and economic conditions on 'Africans' by creating 'Native Reserves' as living and productive space, leaving migrant labour as the only option; and the growing opposition of white commercial farming interests and rural Afrikaner farmers who were 'competing' for land with 'African' squatters and landowners (Bundy, 1982, p. 228-230).[24]

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[24] On the mines, the labour migrants were housed in single male compounds, and in white urban areas they were controlled, by pass laws which restricted their movements.

The Great Depression forced South Africa off the gold standard, which led to a second crisis in the inter-war period (Hirson, 1979).[25] During the Second World War, 'African' labour disputes, black trade unions and protest actions were all on the increase, which led to the revival of the ANC (Hirson, 1979). In 1946, the African Mine Workers Union called a strike in demand for changes in the migrant labour system, which was quickly crushed by the employers and the state (Callinicos, 1988, p. 13).

The end of the Second World War was characterised by rapid expansion of secondary industry and the development of state corporations which became responsible for the provision of the infrastructure needed for the industrialisation of South Africa. The discovery of minerals radically transformed the political and economic life in South Africa. The rapid expansion of new mines, railways, farms, cities and industries created a bigger demand for skilled black labour, and a demand for adult education that took seriously the democratic concerns that had led to the war against Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. After the Second World War, the shortage of skills led the ruling United Party (UP) to suggest a relaxation of the pass law and the colour bar. There was an increasing demand for skilled workers on the labour market, and unskilled workers migrated to the urban areas in search of higher wages. Hall (1981) notes that the connections between the structure and kinds of education we are said to *need*, and the needs of capitalist economy in crisis are often overlooked. There is a strong relationship between education and the economy. Education is often used as a 'cure' for economic crisis whilst the economy's dependence on education is often overlooked.

The contours of South African history provide the context from which to understand the history of formal education.

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[25] The Great Depression was a severe worldwide economic depression in the decade preceding World War II. The timing of the Great Depression varied across the world, but in most countries it started in 1929 and lasted until the late 1930s or early 1940s. The Great Depression originated in the USA, starting with the stock market crash 29 October 1929, but quickly spread to almost every country in the world. Some countries started to recover by the mid 1930s, but in many counties the negative effects were played out until the beginning of the Second World War.

2.3 A History of Formal Education

This part will present a broad summary of formal education in South Africa before 1994. The history of formal education will provide the context from which to understand the history of non-formal education and why non-formal education was so significant.

2.3.1 Education in the pre-apartheid era

In 1936, it was estimated that only 18.1% of all 'African' children were enrolled at school (Hirson, 1979, p. 2). However, the post-1945 period was concerned with developing 'economically backward' areas of the world (Youngman, 2000, p. 50). In this climate, adult education emerged as a way of 'civilizing the masses' and was intended to contribute to the development of useful citizens. This meant developing responsible subjects who would abide by the laws of the country and as such contribute to the development of the country. The end of colonialism, together with post-war recovery with assistance from the US Marshall Plan and the experience of the Japanese economic recovery led economists, politicians and development practitioners to see the possibilities for similar progress in the South.

After the Second World War, some employers began to see schooling as part of a related process whereby workers might be made more open to wage labour (Kallaway, 1984). This encouraged the expansion of primary education for black people because the growth of the manufacturing industries required semi-skilled workers (Kallaway, 1984, 2002). This shift led to an increase in public schools for black African pupils in an attempt to teach workers values and morals, and accept their place in life as inferior, oppressed and exploited, which would be expected of them as wage labourers (Kallaway, 1984). Through schooling in an industrialised society, the new generation of youth was indoctrinated to fit into the old, tried and tested pattern of things. In this way the ruling class also managed to reproduce the status *quo* (Alexander, 1990, p. 17).

2.3.2 Apartheid education

The beginning of apartheid in 1948 institutionalised and exacerbated injustice in an already racist and heavily segregated society (Davies, 1984). The political and economic ruling class whose power was tied to the economic structure of apartheid capitalism shaped the political economy of education (Baatjes, 2003). To maintain control, and divide the black population of South Africa, there was separate education for 'White', 'Indian', 'Coloured' and 'African' people, creating distrust between the various ethnic groups. The vast majority of the population was denied, on the ground of colour, their civil and political rights.

Formal education for black people in South Africa was very limited, directed primarily towards the westernisation of black African adult learners and closely related to Christian religious education. Life was to be regulated and regimented, books and the media censored so that only Christian-National ideas would be available to people (Alexander, 1990, p. 3).[26] This ideology was further expressed in the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953 (Hirson, 1979). The Minister of Education, Verwoerd, declared in a speech in the Senate in June 1954 that

> When I have control of Native Education I will reform it so that the Natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them … People who believe in equality are not desirable teachers for Natives (Hirson 1979, p. 45).

Education became an important tool for the government to maintain and strengthen further social control. Bantu Education was not about westernizing black South Africans but rather about keeping them in their 'Bantu culture' and emphasizing very low-level skills. However, the 1976 schooling revolt in Soweto was the start of social change in South Africa. The generation of black people in South Africa who were affected by apartheid education started doing non-formal education in the 1980s. As I will show later this 'lost' generation (and their children) forms part of the participant base in the three organisations in my study today. This is important because the participants have a history of poor education, which largely determined their level of knowledge and indeed ability to learn in political education today. Having indicated how the process of social, political and economic change affected the way 'development' and formal education was perceived and hence, also, the nature of provision, I will outline the history of non-formal education (see also Appendix A).

2.4 A History of Non-Formal Education

Broadly, this part will outline the history of non-formal education in South Africa before 1994. Firstly, I will define and explain what I mean by the term non-formal education. Secondly, I will outline the historical provision of non-formal education, its providers, its focus on literacy and political education in the Mass Democratic Movement.

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[26] The ruling elite pursued this policy into the early 1970s and it was supported by the vast majority of whites, some middle-class black people and the major imperialist powers despite certain criticisms, clearly because it remained profitable and appeared to be stable (Alexander, 1990, p. 4).

2.4.1 Defining non-formal education

Coombs and Ahmed (1974) define non-formal education as

> … any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children (p. 8).[27]

Walters (1998) suggests non-formal education refers to a planned educational activity that is usually, but not always, short term and noncertificated. Non-formal education occurs within families, workplaces or communities and receives limited, if any, support from the state. It is often defined in terms of its relevance to the poor, its specificity of objective and its flexibility in organisation and method (Walters, 1998). Accordingly, people can learn things of significant value from non-formal education. Both informal and incidental *learning* from action and learning from *deliberate non-formal education* are significant aspects of how people learn. Walters (1998) suggests that non-formal education is often defined in terms of its relevance to the poor. Not all non-formal education, however, is oppositional. Non-formal citizenship education could mean literacy education, nutrition education at a health clinic or oppositional political education.

2.4.2 Historical provision of non-formal education in South Africa

Non-formal education prior to 1994 took place in the following sectors:

- The labour movement (labour research institutes, trade unions, etc.)
- The private sector (organisations for public interest in democracy and rights, etc.)
- NGOs / CBOs (organisations for human rights, education, gender, youth, etc.)
- Civic associations (associations for rent payment, neighbourhood watch, anti-crime, etc.)
- Religious organisations (Baptist, Catholic, Protestant, Islamic, Hindu, Quaker, etc.)
- Social Movements (social movements for basic services, etc.)

Non-formal education was often expressed in literacy education initiatives in NGO's, education for personal development in leadership programmes, political education such as trade union education and anti-apartheid campaigns. Much non-formal education focused on *literacy* since many people had been denied basic formal education.

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[27] For more information on non-formal education in South Africa see Gush and Walters (1998).

2.4.2.1 Educational institutions: a training ground for political resistance

Aitchison (2003) articulates that:

> Educational institutions became the training grounds for, and the actual sites of, political resistance to *apartheid* alongside the growing power of the independent unions in the factories and mines (p. 139).

In 1921, the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) was formed as the first teacher organisation to link educational demands and activity with broader political demands and activity (Christie, 1991). The Transvaal African Teachers Union (TATA), influenced by the ANC and the AAC (All Africa Convention) organised opposition to Bantu Education when it was introduced. Conditions were exacerbated by the 1930s economic depression which further diminished the economic need for the education and training of black people. Such temporary setbacks were to change. Aitchison (2003) highlights that:

> By the end of the Second World War black workers had become increasingly important in the manufacturing sector and there were great hopes that, with the defeat of fascism, South Africa would become a true democracy (p. 127).

Such hopes were reflected in the development of night schools across the country. Night schools were established where teachers provided literacy and non-formal basic school education for black adults. The Witwatersrand Federation for Non-European Adult Education was established in 1945, and it recommended that night schools should receive state subsidies (Gush & Walters, 1998). This was only a temporary achievement, for in 1948 the National Party won a majority of seats, though not the majority of votes, in the South African elections from which all black people were excluded and began to implement laws to further segregate the country (Aitchison, 2003, p. 127). One of the outcomes of the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953 meant that Church schools and night schools had to be handed over to the State or face diminished subsidy.

In 1955 the Department of Native Affairs took control of adult education for 'African' people. Therefore, registration for all classes, irrespective of subsidy, became compulsory (John, 2009). The Freedom Charter called for the doors of learning and culture to be opened for all (Congress of the People, 1955). In 1958, many night schools closed due to financial and administrative problems (Gush & Walters, 1998). In 1961, an illegal night school opened at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. This night school provided matriculation classes for working black students (John, 2009). In 1971, an Extension Department was established at the University of Natal, which later became the Centre for Adult Education (CAE) (Gush & Walters, 1998). The

Institute for Adult Education and External Studies was established at the University of Witwatersrand in 1973, which later became the Centre for Continuing Education in 1976 (John, 2009). In 1977, nights schools were re-opened: 20 Adult Education centres were set up and 15 590 learners were enrolled (John, 2009, p. 262). The Education and Training Act replaced the Bantu Education Act of 1953 in 1979. The same year, the Extramural Studies and Extension Unit at the University of Natal expanded to the Pietermaritzburg campus (Gush & Walters, 1998). In 1985, the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education was established at the University of the Western Cape, and the following year the Department of Adult Education was established at the University of Transkei (John, 2009).

2.4.2.2 Focus on literacy education

There existed different ideological orientations and literacy projects during the 1950-1970s. General literacy projects focused on functional literacy. For example, state literacy was mainly about 'reading the word' or domesticating the word in order to fulfil certain roles at work or in society. Similarly, a lot of the literacy education provided by missionaries was about learning to read the word in order to read the Bible. Literacy education influenced by Freire, often provided by NGO's, focused on learning to read the world – to become liberated, as supposed to only reading the word.

In 1919, the South African Communist Party began night schools and provided literacy classes in various provinces (John, 2009). However, the state was soon to take court action against the night schools. State subsidy for literacy provision in vernacular languages, English and Afrikaans started in 1946. As I mentioned above, the National Party came into power in 1948. This revered support for night schools for black people and discourages NGO and community literacy projects (Gush & Walters, 1998). In 1956, the South African Institute for Race Relations set up an interim committee to establish the Bureau of Literacy and Literature (BLL). Its objectives included training literacy teachers, providing material needed and fostering the distribution of edifying and useful literature. Regulations for the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953 were passed in 1957 and it became a criminal offence to teach black people elsewhere than in a government registered school. In 1960, with peaceful protesters being massacred at Sharpeville, South Africa was becoming an increasingly totalitarian state and this created considerable difficulties for adult education. By the early 1960s most night schools had been closed down, yet some survived illegally underground (Bird, 1984).

As I mentioned above, there was a focus on literacy in much of the non-formal education, throughout the anti-apartheid struggle. However, many adult educators and political activists thought *political education and worker education* was of critical importance, in order to educate

and prepare people *for* democracy. Non-formal adult education was often provided by the counter movement, more specifically the MDM, which saw itself as part of the larger struggle against apartheid (Christie, 1991). The opposition understood black people to be citizens (although they were not regarded as such by the state) that ought to have the same rights as the privileged minority.

Operation Upgrade of Southern Africa began with government approval and supplied primers and readers in many African languages in 1966 (Gush & Walters, 1998). In 1969, one of the first commercial literacy providers, Communication in Industry, was started in Natal (Gush & Walters, 1998). It taught black workers through the English medium. In 1970, the University Christian Movement began community education and literacy classes using Freirean methods (John, 2009). Freire's (1990) work with poor people in Brazil provided him with insight into the condition of the oppressed. Freire (1970) describes the condition of economic, social and political oppression as the 'culture of silence' (p. 12). The oppressed remain silent and inactive without the action needed to improve their situation (Freire, 1970). Freire (1990) found that the formal education system reproduced the culture of silence. Therefore, he developed a model of education which would encourage people to become liberated. This would allow them to 'read the word and the world' (John, 2009, p. 43) through a process of conscientisation (Freire, 1990). In 1986, progressive literacy organisations formed the National Literacy Co-operation (John, 2009).

2.4.2.3 Worker education

The political approach to worker education has deep roots in the history of struggle in South Africa. For instance, the 1973 Durban strikes were a 'school' for workers where the 'experience of mass action' taught them that despite the fact that apartheid laws denied workers' rights, they could still demand and win some rights through 'united action' (Cooper, 2005b, p. 20). As part of the struggle they learnt 'by organising'. As the struggle grew stronger such learning was supplemented by trade union seminars and workshops (Cooper, 2005b, p. 20). In the early 20th century, worker education was led by radicals from political movements such as the ANC, South African Communist Party (SACP) and Trotskyist groupings (Cooper, 2005a & Bird, 1984).[28] Despite the radical aims of these educators, they often relied on conventional education methods such as 'lectures followed by discussions' (Cooper, 2005a, p. 7).

Baskin (cited in Cooper, 2005a) argues that COSATU's education policies stressed the 'respect for the knowledge that people already have' as well as the necessity of 'extracting maximum

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[28] For further literature on Leon Trotsky see Callinicos (1990).

value from the collective experience and understanding of the working class' (p. 7). Cooper (2005a) argues that her own experience of, and research on the labour movement in South Africa, specifically SAMWU, suggests that workers have 'radicalised their leadership', demonstrating that 'involvement in collective action and struggle radicalised workers in a way that no organised, radical pedagogy could have done' (p. 3). She suggests that in the experiences of workers,

> … it was the images of other workers taking action, as well as their collective experience of taking action themselves, that had the strongest radicalising impact (p. 4).[29]

Thus, the tension between education and action as the most important 'teacher' has always been in evidence. In other words, if action flows from and with reflection, then 'learning by doing' and deliberate education should complement one another. Cooper (2005a) makes the point that when, in 2003, SAMWU embarked on the biggest strike in South Africa since its first democratic election, workers expressed their 'experiential knowledge and their anger over poor wages, the privatisation and outsourcing of municipal services' (p. 5). This anger was expressed through collective action which 'communicated outwards a critique of the contradictory logic of post-apartheid public policy' (Cooper, 2005a, p. 5).

What then, Cooper (2005a) asks, 'is the relationship between knowledge which workers gain through their own experience, and that brought by intellectuals?' (p. 1). Building on Lenin, she (2005a) contends that during the 1905 revolution proletarian, consciousness arose not out of theoretical induction and the educational work of intellectuals and worker-intellectuals but as something that emerged and developed in the struggle for existence of the working mass. In the context of trade union education, Cooper (2005a) stresses the educative role of strike action. Here, she argues that 'the revolutionary party is the key agent that promotes "radical adult education" amongst the working class, and helps the working class theoretically to understand its own practice', noting that Gramsci and Lenin held a 'fundamentally classical Marxist notion' that the revolutionary party is essential for political work within the working class (Cooper, 2005a, p. 2).

In other words, there is a direct link between theory and practice (that is, action). Learning takes place in educational settings. However, Cooper (2005a) highlights that workers learnt more from their collective experiences of taking action – this is how organic intellectuals develop. The role

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[29] For more literature on workers education in South Africa, see Cooper (2005c, 2005d) and Grossman (2005). For an analysis of informal learning see Cooper (2006).

of organic intellectuals is to help educate the rest of the movement. Yet, the role of the revolutionary party and radical adult educators is to help people make connections between theory and action.

2.4.2.4 People's Education for People's Power

Born out of the 1985 education crisis, the slogan 'People's Education for People's Power' was deeply embedded within the larger political struggle against apartheid and capitalism (von Kotze, 2005a, p. 12). The principles of 'People's Education' were designed prior to the political transition. The transition began with the unbanning of popular political movements in 1990. Mkatshwa notes that

> People's education stresses the importance of political as well as general education while emphasising the link between education, politics and social transformation (Mkatshwa, 1985 cited in Unterhalter et al., 1991, p. 118).

People's Education for People's Power aimed to acknowledge the relationship between educational issues and community concerns such as rent and consumer boycotts and encouraged holistic thinking about the interests of the whole of society. Gardiner (1984) notes that this was a sharp contrast to the educational attitudes contained in the De Lange Commission's Report of 1981 by the Commissions chairperson de Lange on the provision of education in South Africa, which proposed solutions to narrowly defined problems and needs as determined by the state, the private sector and industry, and as expressed by technological interests (Gardiner, 1984, p. 3-19). People's Education for People's Power was intended to apply to all South Africans in a unitary state, and was meant to replace education for 'exploitation' as well as education for 'domestication' (Gardiner, 1990, p. 160).[30] People's Education for People's Power encouraged equal opportunity for all.

People's Education for People's Power was the South African version of popular education. The Brazilian adult educator Paulo Freire's (1990) basic principles of praxis, conscientisation and action, were all entrenched in People's education for People's Power. In the 1970s, oppositional non-formal adult education influenced by Paulo Freire became central to anti-apartheid mobilisation. At much the same time, the University Christian Movement began circulating mimeographed summaries emanating from the United States of the works of Freire, who was at the time in exile, working for the World Council of Churches in Geneva. Although the South African government promptly banned Freire's book *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1990), its

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[30] For more on People's Education for People's Power, see Unterhalter et al (1991).

methodology was nevertheless utilised in literacy classes and community education. I will come back to People's Education for People's Power and Paulo Freire later in this chapter.

As I pointed out in chapter 1, many people in South Africa still do not have access to employment, water, food, housing, health and education. John (2009) argues that 'in a world of growing inequality and mass deprivations, there is an even greater relevance of Freire's work for the challenges of education in this millennium' (p. 42). Conscientisation, critical reflection and emancipation are increasingly important under neoliberal governments which perpetuate marginalisation and exclusion of citizens (Baatjes, 2003; John, 2009).

Despite the obstacles confronting political work in South Africa, conscientisation and educational activities continued to make progress by exploiting the weaknesses in the repressive system (Aitchison, 2003).

2.4.3 The influence of non-formal education

Non-formal education had a powerful influence on educational as well as political and social developments throughout the early and mid-1980s (Aitchison, 2003). In 1981, non-formal adult education was identified for development by the state commission (John, 2009, p. 262). The de Lange Commission Report (1981) popularised the term 'non-formal education', education for adults designed to complement the formal system and job-related educational needs, and was the first time an apartheid state-appointed commission had promoted non-formal education. Alexander (1990) suggests that the de Lange Commission Report promotes more education or training for special purposes, which forces students to specialise from when they enter secondary school, which attempts to produce 'well-drilled' and competent but limited technicians and technocrats who will tend to be either 'apolitical' or 'anti-political' (p. 8).

The Health Sciences Research Council (HSRC) established a Non-Formal Education Work Committee in 1983 and the General Education Affairs Act of 1984 empowered the Minister of General Education Affairs to decide on policy for non-formal education. However, Unterhalter et al. (1991) suggest that the strategy associated with maintaining education provision in the so-called 'Bantustans' continued, and the new reform strategies focused on upgrading African education to 'ensure economic growth' and political order from the 'dominated classes' in South Africa (p. 66). The strategy failed to secure both economic growth and political order. The United Democratic Front was launched in 1983 and started political education work (John, 2009, p. 262).

In 1989 some South African trade unions began to include literacy and education in their demands to management. The United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed in 1983 and

approximately 800 organisations affiliated themselves to it, ranging from trade unionists and schoolchildren to organisations of civil society (Aitchison, 2003). The UDF was also involved in a National Consultative Conference of anti-apartheid groupings in 1985 where the non-formal alternative called People's Education for People's Power emerged (von Kotze, 2005a). The history of non-formal education shows the important link between education and political purpose - and my study seeks to search for some continuity or renewal of those impulses. However, non-formal education in the new democracy faced challenges such as funding and support.

2.4.4 Challenges for non-formal education in the democracy – post 1994 era

Formal education pre 1994 did not prepare people for democracy and citizenship participation. Formal education in the past saw black people as 'labour' and it aimed to teach people to be obedient. Non-formal education on the other hand encouraged participation and oppositional thinking to an oppressive state system. Non-formal education pre 1994 saw black people as 'people' and 'citizens' and provided literacy education for people who the state did not regard as citizens. In the past democratic action and education happened through the anti-apartheid MDM. In fact, many of the people who participated in non-formal education in the past became leaders and politicians who endorsed the constitution and who today form a part of government institutions.

Non-formal education was central to the struggle for liberation in South Africa. As the struggle came to an end, people thought the government would take the responsibility for providing non-formal education. As I already noted in chapter 1, formal education was always concerned with economic growth. Yet, there was a tradition in adult education that was concerned with community issues and political issues. However, the introduction of neo-liberal policies and a focus on human resource development further shifted the focus from lifelong *education* concerned with community, cultural and political issues to an emphasis on lifelong *learning* to ensure economic growth. This meant a shift in attitude to learners as consumers rather than active producers of knowledge. Connected to wider socio-economic changes such as globalisation, this paradigm shift also had implications for citizenship education.

There has been a shift from viewing people as agents of history and producers of knowledge to seeing people as subjects of history and consumers of (largely vocational) knowledge. This paradigm shift is also reflected in worker education. Cooper (2005b) suggests that worker education in South Africa after 1994 has been pulled in two opposite directions. One direction has emerged 'out of the history of the labour movement' and the broader MDM, which linked education closely to political practice. This direction sees learning as emerging out of workers' collective experiences and views the purpose of education as one of empowerment and social

transformation (Cooper, 2005b). The other direction, she argues, has been appropriated by the labour movement from the world of 'human resource development' that emphasises the 'assessment' and 'accreditation' of learning from 'life and work experience' as the basis for creating 'new routes into higher education, employment and training opportunities'.

Alongside the introduction of neoliberal policies, Cooper (2005b) notes that a different approach to worker education began to emerge within the labour movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The 1987 COSATU Education Conference resolved that education should, among other things, 'discourage individualism, competitiveness and careerism' (Cooper, 2005b, p. 20). As early as 1991, the COSATU 4th National Congress adopted resolutions which argued that workers should have access to 'lifelong education and training' with an emphasis on 'transferable skills, access to 'career paths' and 'Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL).

Cooper (2005b) argues that over the last decade there has been growing emphasis on developing trade union education which offers 'careerpathing' to trade unionists (p. 21). This has led to a 'brain drain' of trade unionists into government and management. Hence, she observes, the trade unions resources are increasingly directed towards 'capacity building' amongst its leadership and staff.[31] Worker education has shifted from the sphere of 'political practice' to that of 'human resource development' (Cooper, 2005b, p. 19). Similarly, von Kotze (2005b) suggests that like worker education, 'university adult education' (p. 39), is asked to pay allegiance to vocationalism, market values and individualism.

In the past, learning about democracy meant struggling *for* democracy. In a post apartheid context, human resource development has taken over from what could have been learning *about* democracy. Given this background, what does the evolution of democracy hold? Are South Africans equipped to act democratically and en-act citizenship? How does one include those who previously were left out and turn them into citizens who claim their rights? The formal educational background suggests that people were not prepared for democracy. Non-formal education in the MDM aimed to teach people about equal rights for all regardless of race, class or gender. All of this suggests that people learn about democracy through non-formal education and by taking part in collective action. As I will show in chapters 4, 5 and 6, this was also the case in the three organisations' education programmes.

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[31] For more on trade union education in South Africa, see Cooper (2005c).

2.5 Democracy and Citizenship

In the following section, drawing on various authors, I work towards a definition of 'democracy', 'citizen', 'citizenship' and hence 'citizenship education'.

2.5.1 What is democracy?

So many political power systems and ideologies claim to be 'democratic' that the word has become virtually meaningless in its everyday use. The label is used to legitimise almost every kind of political power arrangement (Chomsky, 1994, 2006). Broadly, there are two types of democracy: participatory democracy and representative democracy. The origins of democracy as an idea and a practice can be traced back to the city states in Greece in the fifth century Before Common Era (BCE). At that time it broadly meant 'rule of the citizens' (the *demos*), and was designed to allow all citizens to have voice in decisions that would affect all. This right was exercised at mass gatherings, and approximated to what we would today call direct democracy or participatory democracy (Crick, 2000).

However, ancient Greek democracy had a series of short falls: first, that it excluded women and a large class of slaves; second, that the *demos* acted as a collective or social body, rather than as isolated individuals; and third, that this kind of collective decision making could work only as long as the citizen body remained relatively small and homogenous (Marshall, 1998). These citizens were a minority: women and slaves were not regarded as citizens, and there were also subject inhabitants with some personal and property rights in law or custom but no right to vote in public affairs. Aristotle remarked that whoever could live outside the *polis* (the city or the civic relationship or the community of citizens), was either a beast or a god (Crick, 2000).

Participatory democracy today refers to the broad participation of constituents in the direction and operation of political systems. While etymological roots imply that any democracy would rely on the participation of its citizens, traditional representative democracies tend to limit citizen participation to voting, leaving actual governance to politicians (Miller, 2005). The RDP highlighted the limits of representative democracy and promoted the idea of participatory and direct democracy based on a vigorous and empowered civil society. It promoted a vision, 'in which the population is "empowered through ... an institutional network fostering representative, participatory and direct democracy"' (Workers' World Media Productions, 2005, p. 9). This policy promoted 'community participation' in development plans and processes, 'in budget processes and all policy drafting processes' (Workers' World Media Productions, 2005, p. 9). Here, democracy was understood as a system of political participation by the people in public affairs. Democracy was related to the power of the people and the idea of equal rights for all citizens

(Torres, 1990). Similarly, the labour movement taught workers about equal rights for all workers regardless of race and class.

Participatory democracy allowed for ordinary people to make history without having to wait for political parties or traditional organisations. This meant that people themselves should form part of social transformation, without simply receiving concessions from existing institutions. In practice, this would mean to develop new methods of decision making to avoid hierarchy. Participatory democracy offers a lens for looking at all hierarchies critically and not taking them as inevitable (Hayden & Flacks, 2002). In South Africa today, however, democracy is primarily a method of political representation that includes regular voting procedures, free elections, parliamentary and judicial systems free from the control of the executive, the predominance of individual rights over collective rights, and freedom of speech.

For the purpose of this study, I use democracy in the sense of participatory democracy. Participatory democracy strives to create opportunities for all people in society to make meaningful contributions to decision-making, and seeks to broaden the range of people who have access to such opportunities. Therefore, I believe that a strong non-governmental public sphere is a precondition for the emergence of a strong democracy.

2.5.2 Defining people as *citizens* or *subjects*

Historically there has been a fundamental difference between the concept of a *citizen* and the concept of a *subject* (Crick, 2000). What is the role and responsibilities of a *subject* and a *citizen* within a democracy? What are the constraints and freedoms? Are citizens people who can recite the constitution or people who can explain and challenge it?

Marshall (1950) identifies three species of rights for citizens – civil, political and social:

> The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom... By the political element I mean the right to participate in the exercise of political power... By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum or economic welfare and security, to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standard prevailing in the society (p. 8).

Each of these three components corresponds to a particular set of institutions: 'civil rights to the court system, political rights to the institutions of local government and parliament, and social rights to the welfare state' (Lawy & Biesta, 2006, p. 35). The civil element comprises all rights that are closely related to personal freedom such as freedom of speech, faith and thought (Bron &

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Field, 2001). It also includes the right to property and justice. The political aspect is understood as the right to vote and in that way to make use of the citizen's right to participate. The social feature refers to the right to economic welfare and sharing of the social heritage.

For Marshall (1950), citizens were broadly those people who had status in a society, and contributed to it through participation, as well as accessing judicial, political and social rights within it. This view came to dominate much western thinking, for as long as the welfare state offered the prospect of balancing individual liberty with social solidarity in a relatively stable capitalist society. Marshall sought to combine ideas of service and entitlement, individual and society. This was an attempt to provide both a theoretical understanding of and practical underpinning for social cohesion in an economically divided society (Bron & Field, 2001).

Crick (2000) argues that the fundamental difference between the concept of a citizen and the concept of a subject is: a subject obeys the laws, and a citizen is someone who assumes agency and plays a part in making and changing it (Crick, 2000, p. 4). Broadly, the subject obeys the laws by paying their taxes and obeying the overall rules governing the country. The concept of a subject is an outcome of representative democracy. The citizen, on the other hand, plays an active role in challenging such rules and developing new ones. The concept of a citizen is in essence an outcome of participatory democracy.

Assiter (1999) makes an important distinction between the two main traditions of citizenship: the liberal and the communitarian.

The liberal and the communitarian view of citizenship
The liberal view reflects a definition of citizenship as an individually ascribed political status which is enacted within the formal politics of the state. This is done mainly through exercising the right and responsibility to vote. The liberal tradition of citizenship involves the protection by the state of individual liberties. For example, citizens may use their rights to promote their own self-interest within the constraint of respecting the rights of others to do the same thing (Assiter, 1999). Assiter (1999), however, suggests that

> … citizenship as a concept, with its assumptions that the world is divisible into nation-states with their inclusionary and exclusionary boundaries, is an inappropriate concept to use if the community is to be the world (p. 41).

Communitarian critics of liberalism argue that liberalism is an overly individualistic conception of the individual which ignores the notion that people's values partially form who they are (Assiter,

1999; Rawls, 1971). Broadly, in the view of communitarians, people are seen as social beings, agents receiving their self-understandings from the social world. Unlike the liberals, communitarians would argue that people cannot detach themselves from their ends and values. From a communitarian point of view, 'being a citizen involves belonging to a community' (that is, the family, friendship or the nation) (Assiter, 1999, p. 42). Broadly, I use the term community to indicate geographical area, which in South Africa is defined by social class, religion, ethnic belonging, identity and so forth. The communitarian tradition embodies a collectively asserted construction of citizenship as a social practice which is enacted within the cultural politics of civil society, that is, in social movements and communities.

In South Africa today the majority of people broadly subscribe to the liberal view of citizenship (Assiter, 1999) which sees citizenship as an individually recognised political status which is acted out within the formal politics of the state through electoral voting for government elections. Broadly, the three organisations in this study understand a citizen to be someone belonging to a community (that is, the communitarian view). As I will show in chapters 4, 5 and 6, the three education-providing organisations focused upon in this study are all committed to working with the community, be it, the unemployed, the workers, the HIV positive. They were also committed to join force with broader political alliances such as the Western Cape Coalition. In fighting for their rights to a life in dignity, the participants in the three organisations exercise their citizenship. So what implications does all of this have for citizenship education?

Crowther and Martin (2005a) argue that 'citizenship education' ought to engage citizens and that it stimulates the 'development of a critical and reflexive civic culture of democratic discussion and debate' (p. 214). If citizenship education is to affect change it is inevitable that it encourages the questioning of underlying power. Such citizenship education aims to create an active citizenry who are both willing and able to challenge prevailing conditions of oppression. In terms of South Africa, this is particularly important because of its history and the fact that people were not educated *for* democracy. Popular education in the past was concerned with developing critical thinking people. This relates to the significant distinction that Inglis (1997) makes between 'empowerment' and 'emancipation'. Inglis (1997) contends that:

> … empowerment involves people developing capacities to act successfully within the existing system and structures of power, while emancipation concerns critically analyzing, resisting and challenging structures of power (p. 4).

Here, 'empowerment' refers to economic empowerment and participation in formal politics. 'Emancipation' on the other hand, means a critically thinking citizenry that participate in popular

politics. An empowered citizen is someone who participates in formal politics within the framework of the oppressive system. An emancipated citizen is someone who assumes agency, and works towards removing not just the obstacles and constraints that stand in the way of a dignified life, but the system, structures and relations of power that gave rise to the conditions of oppression. I will elaborate on these two concepts later on in this chapter. In the past, black South African citizens did not belong to the citizenry, as defined in the Greek polis. They were denied the right to vote and lived outside the polis. Before 1994, many South Africans were preoccupied with fighting for recognition as citizens. After 1994, citizens have largely embraced exercising the concept of a subject rather than exercising their citizen right.

As I highlighted earlier in this chapter, the introduction of neo-liberal policies and a focus on human resource development shifted the focus from lifelong *education* concerned with community, cultural and political issues to an emphasis on lifelong *learning* to ensure economic growth. In South Africa, non-formal *education* has come out of history of the labour movement and the broader Mass Democratic Movement where education was closely linked to political practice. *Learning* has now been adjusted to suit the paradigm of human resource development, which puts its emphasis on accreditation and training for higher education, employment and training opportunities. Whilst *education* in the past had seen people as agents of history and producers of knowledge, *learning* saw people as subjects of history and consumers of (largely vocational) knowledge. Connected to wider socio-economic changes such as globalisation, this paradigm shift also had implications for citizenship education.

2.5.2.1 Citizenship as a status and a right

Although the idea of citizenship is almost universal today, how it is perceived and experienced are not. The history of citizenship in both North and South has been a history of struggle over how it is to be defined and who is to be included (Kabeer, 2004). Crick (2000) argues that citizenship can be characterised as both a 'status' and 'a set of rights' (p. 4). This association of rights and status is not accidental. The political importance of rights derives from the social nature of status (Barbalet, 1988, p. 15). To the Greeks and the Romans citizenship was both a legal term and a social status: citizens were those who had a legal right to have a say in the affairs of the city or state, whether by speaking in public or by voting, usually both (Crick, 2000, p. 4).

A coherent description and analysis of citizenship articulated by Marshall (1950) shortly after the Second World War characterised citizenship as a 'status bestowed on all those who are full members of a community' (p. 28). To Marshall, members of a community had citizenship rights. Here, Marshall (1950) identified three species of rights for citizens – civil, political and social.

Citizenship as a *status* relates to the view of people as *subjects* that obey the laws. Citizenship as *a set of rights* relates to the view of people as *citizens* who actively play a part in making and changing the law by participating in the civil, political and social sphere. For example, in the past the majority of South Africans did not have the status of citizens. Although they were not recognized as citizens by the state many of them formed part of an active civil society, thus exercising their right as citizens. However, in order to exercise such rights they would first have to be aware of and understand them. This I will come back to in my analysis.

2.5.2.2 Citizenship as participation

Giddens (1998) emphasises the need for 'deepening democracy'. Shaw and Martin (2000) refer to the process of strengthening civil society as a 'democratic renewal' (p. 408). 'Democratic renewal' is in sharp contrast to Third Way politics and the idea of 'deepening democracy' or 'democratizing democracy' as suggested by Giddens (1998). Rather, 'democratic renewal' should become the means through which a 'diversity of voices' can be conceptualised and articulated (Martin, 2000, p. 410). In this 'process', power is something that is demanded, through 'social and political action from below rather than handed down from above' (Shaw & Martin, 2000, p. 410). This requires that citizens participate in the broader political and economical sphere, rather than mere electoral voting. This requires that citizens are able to challenge existing policies and assist in the development of new ones. The view of citizenship as participation is directly linked to *participatory democracy* as I alluded to earlier.

2.5.2.3 Citizenship as access

Citizenship is bound up in social, ethnic, and religious identities. The struggle for access to citizenship often begins with demands for recognition and dignity, often focussed on immediate needs in the social and community sphere, rather than for a greater political voice. However, the two spheres are related: it is through engagement in pursuit of recognition or over local issues that broader awareness, skills and networks are acquired. Turner (1986) makes the point that in the debate over social participation in capitalism, social class is often set against citizenship in the sense that it is normally argued that it is impossible to achieve full and real participation in a society which is fundamentally unequal in terms of class divisions (p. 86).[32]

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[32] This suggests that access to economic resources as a right of citizenship could alter not only the pattern of inequality but also its very basis, and in turn, the dynamic and structure of class society. It could also be argued that social democracy has provided a safety-net of social policy for the disadvantaged, and that this might improve the conditions of the poor without dealing with the underlying causes of inequality. If this is the general outcome of social citizenship, then the

History has shown that those who possess economic power also control government and law (Barbalet, 1988). This condition gave rise to the struggle for 'democratic citizenship', which was a struggle *for access* to citizenship against exclusion and against the inequalities which exclusion produces. This represented a struggle for the possibility of access to exercise citizenship. But the development of democratic citizenship has not brought an end to inequality. Rather, it has produced spheres of equal participation which parallel those of exclusive power (Barbalet, 1988, p. 44). In South Africa, the struggle against the apartheid regime was a struggle for democratic citizenship. The current struggle is about access to exercise citizenship. The struggle for active citizenship in South Africa today is a struggle for all citizens to reclaim their constitutional rights.

Barbalet (1988) states that 'For Aristotle the status of citizenship was confined to the effective participants in the deliberation and exercise of power; today national citizenship extends across society' (p. 2). The expansion of citizenship in the modern state is both the hallmark of its achievements and the basis of its limitations. Modern citizenship across the social structure means that in theory all persons as citizens are equal before the law and therefore that no person or group is legally privileged. However, social class inequality means that the practical ability to exercise the rights which constitute the status of citizen will not be accessible to all who possess them (Barbalet, 1988). Lister (2001) notes that

> What is at issue is not just the exclusion from the bonds of common citizenship of those at the bottom, but also the way in which those at the top can exclude themselves from these bonds and thereby fail to acknowledge the equal worth of their fellow citizens (p. 438).

The issue of who can practise citizenship and on what terms is more than just a question of the legal extent of citizenship and the formal nature of the rights entailed in it. What also matters are the non-political capacities of citizens which derive from the social resources they command and to which they have access. Given the economic inequality in South Africa it is not surprising that this affects poor people's access to participation – in the social, political or economic sphere. Thus, Turner (1986) argues that 'the boundaries which define citizenship ultimately define membership of a social group or collectivity' (p. 85). This has a direct bearing on contemporary

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principles underlying the operations of the economy and the structure and process of social class remain untouched by its development (Barbalet, 1988, p. 46).

South African debate on class, race and ethnicity, which I will discuss later in chapter 5. It relates to the three programmes that I investigated in that they all dealt with similar issues.[33]

Based on the above, *citizenship* within *participatory democracy* would mean the following:
- Access to participation in civil, political, economic and social matters
- Citizens that are able to question and challenge the status *quo*
- Citizens that are committed to acting upon their rights and developing new rights

This would mean that citizens should play an active role in challenging and changing the overall rules of the country. In order to do this people need to be able to think critically and independently in order to challenge current problems. After 1994, some South African citizens have succumbed to the concept of a subject within a representative democracy. To them, citizen participation is largely limited to electoral voting. On the other hand, many South Africans are waiting for access to basic services. This has sparked off protest across the country whereby people have put their citizen rights into practice. My experiences in South African civil society tell me that many people do not know the local councilors in their areas. This means that they do not know who they should hold accountable for lack of services in their communities. How does one turn subjects into citizens? Does this happen by *learning* through participation or through *teaching* deliberate education?

2.6 Learning or Teaching for Citizenship?

As I already alluded to in chapter 1, there exists a debate on learning and teaching (that is, education) in the field of adult learning and adult education. This debate emerged with the shift from a focus on Lifelong Education onto that of Lifelong Learning with the introduction of human resource development. The language of education has largely been replaced by a language of learning.   The consensus in human resource development theory is that a nation's 'competitiveness' in global markets ultimately depends on the skills of all its people (Coffield, 1999, p. 480).

Biesta (2005a) contends that teaching has become redefined as 'supporting' or 'facilitating learning' and education is described as 'the provision of learning opportunities' or 'learning experiences' (p. 55). Through this process education has become a commodity - the learner has become a consumer and the traditional educator has become the provider. The government has

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[33] For more literature debating citizenship in South Africa see Robins & von Lieres (2004) and Williams (2004).

created the conditions for a 'learning market' in which everyone supposedly has the same opportunities to access and pay for education and training. Looking at statistics on participation in formal education (as I pointed out in chapter 1) it is clear that many people cannot afford it. With an increased focus on better employment chances, learning that is not directly related to earning has taken a back seat.

Non-formal education was central to the struggle against apartheid. As the struggle came to an end, many adult educators had hoped that the government would take the responsibility for providing non-formal education (von Kotze, 2005a, 2005b; Cooper, 1998). The government's increasing reliance on human resource development has shifted the focus further away from lifelong *education* (and teaching) concerned with community, cultural and political issues to an emphasis on lifelong *learning* to ensure economic growth. Education for economic growth has always been hegemonic whilst community and political education have always been counter-hegemonic in South Africa. It is important to highlight the distinction between learning and education because my study set out to investigate what happened to non-formal education for civil society.

Next, I will outline Coare and Johnston's (2003) four categories of *learning for citizenship*.

2.6.1 Learning for citizenship

The work of Coare and Johnston (2003) has been central to the debate on learning for citizenship. They build on many of the defining elements of citizenship: status, rights, access and participation. They established four categories of learning for citizenship: inclusive citizenship, pluralistic citizenship, reflexive citizenship and active citizenship.[34]

2.6.1.1 Inclusive citizenship

For Coare and Johnston (2003), learning for inclusive citizenship means 'engaging with the key policy goal of social inclusion' (p. 54). What do they mean by inclusion? They suggest that from a community development perspective, inclusionary policies ought to enhance the social, economic and political power of marginalized groups, but, from a human capital perspective, social inclusion means inclusion in employment market, employability schemes, access to further education and training, or higher education. Coare and Johnston (2003) suggest that learning for inclusive citizenship is limited but that it can help excluded adults move towards a role of

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[34] For further literature on education for citizenship see Andrews (1991).

participant or learner, which potentially can lead to participation that is more extensive, and the gradual exercise of wider citizen's rights. They suggest that

> … adult learning for inclusive citizenship has the potential to open the way to a different and positive learning identity for some disadvantaged groups of learners as well as leading to the development of social learning, social capital and greater participation in civil society (p. 57).

This statement relates to my discussion earlier on citizenship as rights, access and participation rather than status. In contrast to an individualised access to education, a community context offers space for collective learning where groups can develop their own autonomy and develop various forms of learning and participation (Coare & Johnston, 2003). Rather than looking to change the power structures that are reproducing inequalities, Johnston (1999) seems to suggest that learning for inclusive citizenship would help integrate victims into the very same system that reproduces inequality. This has relevance for my consideration of education for 'critical' citizenship and emancipation (Inglis, 1997), which I will elaborate on later.

2.6.1.2 Pluralistic citizenship

Coare and Johnston (2003) propose that citizenship needs to go beyond inclusion. Due to globalisation the world is increasingly becoming a global village where people are moving across national borders in search of a new life and employment. They stress that learning for pluralistic citizenship

> … needs to build on but extend beyond inclusive citizenship to take account of growing social diversity and pluralism. This process can incorporate aspects of the modern and postmodern. A focus on pluralistic citizenship can do this through, on the one hand, recognising the existence of basic universal human rights but also leaving room for negotiation and variability, so taking account of the postmodern emphasis on heterogeneity, fragmentation and decentring (Coare & Johnston, 2003, p. 57).

They suggest that learning for pluralistic citizenship can respond 'positively to individualization', and make it possible to engage meaningfully with identity politics and the dangers of 'categorisation', 'marginalisation', 'silencing' and exclusion of certain groups (Coare & Johnston, 2003, p. 58). They argue that in adult learning an emphasis on identity and difference has been well developed and illustrated by the learning processes involved in anti-racist work, women's education and the disability movement. The key task for learning for pluralistic citizenship is making productive links between 'diversity' and 'communality' (Coare & Johnston, 2003, p. 59).

Johnston (1999) also suggests that adult learning for pluralistic citizenship can pose an alternative to the decline of the nation-state and ecological endangerment through encouraging a focus on global citizenship. He proposes that pluralistic citizenship can push citizens into 'thinking globally' and 'acting locally' (p. 183). This, he suggests, is done through the development of 'community initiatives' committed to the worldwide struggle for equality of race, gender and sexuality, and for equitable distribution of resources (p. 183). The role for adult educators is to help make the connections between the local and the global (Johnston, 1999).

2.6.1.3 Reflexive citizenship

In order to define reflexive citizenship Coare and Johnston (2003, p. 61) drew on Jackson (1995) who suggests that it involves

> … the view that adults bring something which derives both from their experience of adult life and from their status as citizens to the educational process; that adult education is based on dialogue rather than a mere transmission of knowledge and skill; that education is not only for personal development and advancement but also for social advancement; that adult education constructs knowledge and does not merely pass it on; that adult education has dialectical and organic relationship with social movements (p. 184).

Coare and Johnston (2003) argue that learning for reflexive citizenship encourages dialogue between learners and teachers because adults bring valuable experiences to the educational process. In practice, this means that learning is not only seen as a transmission of knowledge from teacher to learner, which is the case with Banking Education (Freire, 1990) discussed later. Reflexive citizenship explores the power relationships between educator and learner. In this view, education is not just for individualistic personal development but for social advancement for the collective. Adult education has the potential to construct knowledge. Such learning processes often happen in social movements. In this context, they argue that reflexive learning can help bring about a more positive identity for learners and open up for more creative training and employment opportunities geared to improve learner's participation, and in this way give them 'voice' (Coare & Johnston, 2003, p. 59). They note that this is directly linked to learning for active citizenship.

2.6.1.4 Active citizenship

The western contemporary usage of active citizenship emerged in eighteenth century France (Bron & Field, 2001), and was shaped by the social and political thought of philosophers such as

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Andrews, 1991)[35] and hastened into life by the radical social movements that briefly seized leadership of the French Revolution. In defining learning for active citizenship, Coare and Johnston (2003, p. 64) drew on Kane (2001) who suggests

> … that the starting point of any educational endeavour should be an attempt to understand the 'social reality' in all its complexity and contradictions, of those (organisations) seeking to bring about change and that a key part of this process is to promote a 'dialogue of knowledges' in which collectively, everyone participates in discussion, analyses problems and considers options for action (p. 17).

In my view, Coare and Johnston (2003) have chosen a liberal approach for learning for active citizenship (as well as educational setting). To participate 'in discussion', analyse 'problems' and consider 'options for action' is not the same as constructing dialogue and education that is committed to challenging the status *quo* and collective action for progressive economic, political and social change. For this purpose, I will therefore elaborate on Freire's (1990) view on dialogue later on in this chapter.

Broadly, active citizenship means the way in which an individual activates herself or himself to be able to consciously influence their own situation and the situation of others in a democratic society (Bron & Malewski, 1995). In other words, dialogue is important in order to make sense of reality. Making sense of the world is a collective experience where everyone participates in discussion and considers alternatives for action. Johnston (1999) suggests that learning for active citizenship focuses on the link between learning and action and that it can 'incorporate inclusive, pluralistic and reflective approaches and, at the same time, provide the most recognisable and distinctive context for adult learning for citizenship concerned with social purpose' (p. 185). In this regard, he argues that 'learning for active citizenship has the potential to be an important counter-point to the more individualistic, economistic and controlled aspects of lifelong learning' (1999, p. 185). Johnston (1999) considers that 'the underlying values of social purpose adult education are still valid', but proposes that adult educators need to be 'more modest in [their] aims','more flexible in [their] partnerships' and 'more reflexive in [their] praxis' if they aim to play a meaningful role in maintaining and developing 'social purpose learning' (p. 188).

In her critique of the current learning for active citizenship, Thompson (2005) points out that

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[35] Other thinkers such as Ferguson, Locke, Mill and de Tocqueville, further conceptualised the concept (Bron & Field, 2001, p. 7).

Active citizenship is one of those formerly radical terms that used to be associated with audacious grass roots energy, participatory democracy and progressive social change – in the days when adult education was considered to be 'a movement' with organic links to some of the most influential social movements of recent times, such as the labour and trade union movement, the women's movement, the civil rights movement and the peace movement (p. 11).

Thompson (2005) suggests that 'it's about time we got back in touch with the energy, commitment and anger that fuels this kind of active citizenship and rediscovered the educational potential and significance of popular social movements' (p. 12). This tradition has been replaced with terms such as 'empowerment', 'participation', 'social inclusion' and, most recently, 'respect' (Thompson, 2005, p. 11).[36] In this context, individual choices are not the same as collective choice; social capital is not the same as social justice; inclusion is not the same as redistribution; cohesion is not the same as equality (Thompson, 2005).

Coare and Johnston (2003) consider various options for learning for active citizenship and they have identified important points around what matters to citizenship. I focused on some of their theories because their work has been central to the citizenship education debate. Whilst reading a vast range of literature on citizenship education I often came across the works of Johnston (1999) and Coare and Johnston (2003). I also found that their work would often be used for citations and referencing by other authors on citizenship education. However, I take issue with some of their arguments. I suggest that one category is missing here: *critical citizenship education*. Critical citizenship education should be a tool to help develop participatory democracy.

Next, I will suggest what I believe matters to education for democracy. The following part will place focus on 'education' for citizenship as supposed to 'learning' for citizenship. I will propose that there is a need for deliberate education for democracy, rather than merely incidental learning (although such learning is also important). Such an education ought to encourage people to become active and critically thinking. I will use this theory in chapter 5 when I discuss my three case studies.

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[36] 'Respect' refers to what she calls New Labour's 'authoritarian pre-occupation with micro-managing the potentially troublesome attitudes of the lower order'.

2.7 Educating for Democracy

This part draws together the theory in the previous sections. In the past, non-formal education in South Africa was influenced by the Brazilian adult educator Paulo Freire. Central to Freire's education is the concept of action and reflection (praxis). Freire argues that the creation of a dialogue that is rooted in the experiences of the oppressed is central to problem-posing education, as opposed to banking education. Dialogue is central to education for transformation. This requires teachers that are fighting on the side as the oppressed, *with* and not *for,* the oppressed. The teacher and student are one and the same. They both learn from each other. Thus, popular education is: 'rooted in the real interests and struggles of ordinary people; it is overtly political and critical of the status quo; it is committed to progressive social and political change' (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999, p. 4).

I chose to focus on non-formal education because it has a history in South Africa. Popular education in South Africa often happened in social movements. Why did I choose to focus on citizenship education? Given the history of non-formal education in South Africa, it is clear that popular education in the past was citizenship education even though the 'citizens' were not regarded as citizens by the government at the time. Whilst Johnston (1999) suggests that learning for active citizenship is important, Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999), on the other hand, argue that it is not about 'learning' but 'education'. They promote popular education as a useful approach because it is critical of the status *quo,* it always sides with the oppressed and it is committed to progressive change.[37] Martin (2002) suggests:

> Critical, social purpose adult education has historically, been important and influential in contesting the terrain of citizenship and resourcing the process of *learning democracy.* This is partly because it has always recognized that education is a dialectical and contested field characterised by shifting conflicts, alliances and compromises between competing interests, and partly because it has always valued in ordinary people those two essential prerequisites of democratic life: the capacity for skepticism and the possibility of dissent (p. 19).

This is distinctly different to learning for active citizenship that 'analyses problems' and 'considers options for action' within the existing power structures as suggested by Johnston (1999). All of this suggests that there is a need for more deliberate citizenship education. For this purpose, I will shift the focus to what I call critical citizenship education.

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[37] I will discuss popular education in further detail later on.

2.7.1 Critical citizenship education

As I noted before, citizenship education is a contested concept. I also noted that popular education is political and critical of the status *quo,* and it always sides with the oppressed. In South Africa, popular education pre 1994 was concerned with developing critical thinking people. Cooper (2005b) and von Kotze (2005b) suggest that worker education and university adult education are currently asked to pay allegiance to vocationalism, market values and individualism. Similarly, Ledwith (2007) argues that the skills-driven approach to education, influenced by state policy, is tailored to feed the needs of the economy, and therefore founded on the worldview of western capitalism. Non-formal citizenship education ought to be independent from the state, to encourage citizens to think beyond the existing power structures. Whilst some British politicians have referred to the lack of participation in elections as 'voter apathy', others have asked if this is better understood as 'antipathy' (Crowther & Martin, 2005a, p. 213). The process of civic disengagement is a serious political problem that demands an urgent educational response; Crowther and Martin (2005a) aim therefore

> … to encourage people to understand democracy as a social and cultural process that is learned and must be continuously re-learned, as well as a set of political institutions and procedures (p. 213).

According to Crowther and Martin (2005a), the aim is not to 'teach people how to be good citizens', which they suggest is part of the problem with much of the British government agenda for 'citizenship education', rather, they aim to stimulate the 'development of a critical and reflexive civic culture of democratic discussion and debate' (p. 214). In South Africa this is even more important because of the history of oppression and discrimination, and because it is a relatively new democracy. This requires people who are able to know their rights and responsibilities, and how to act upon them.

If citizenship education is to affect change it is inevitable that it is *critical of the status quo* and that it leads to questioning the assumptions underlying power. Critical citizenship education is education aimed at creating an active citizenry who are both willing and able to challenge prevailing conditions of oppression. Next, I will discuss Inglis's (1997) theory about empowerment and emancipation. I found his concepts useful for the analysis of my three case studies in chapter 5. His concept of emancipation is closely related to my idea about critical citizenship education.

2.7.1.1 Education for empowerment or emancipation

Inglis (1997) distinguishes between 'empowerment' and 'emancipation'. Broadly, empowerment refers to economic empowerment and participation in formal politics. Emancipation refers to a critically thinking citizenry who assumes agency, and works towards removing not just the obstacles and constraints that stand in the way of a dignified life, but the system, structures and relations of power that gave rise to the conditions of oppression. Education for 'People's Power' in South Africa was about emancipation.

Inglis (1997) notes that the concepts of empowerment and emancipation have 'gained common currency in recent years within adult education as well as in 'organizational management' and 'industrial training' (p. 3). He argues that in the debate about 'people becoming empowered' and 'freeing themselves from power', there has been an absence of a discussion about the 'nature of power'. Inglis cites Foucault (1980a) who suggests that 'there is no truth without power' (p. 131).[38] He notes that this leads to a fundamental problem, and therefore asks, 'If power dictates or produces the truth, how do we recognize true statements about power? More fundamentally, is truth possible beyond power?' What is considered to be 'the truth' by one interest group i.e. government, business, media or personal capacity might be understood to be 'tainted' by subjective interests by another interest group. Inglis (1997) suggests that 'empowerment' does not necessarily mean critical thinking while 'emancipation' focuses on critically analysing and challenging structures of power. In this view, 'education' for critical citizenship aims to develop citizens who are able to 'probe' and ask questions that challenge oppressive structures (Shaw & Martin, 2000, p. 408). But does the emancipation envisaged here mean personal emancipation or collective emancipation?

To Coare and Johnston (2003) 'empowerment' is related mainly to building an 'active' and 'inclusive' citizenship. Here, 'learning for active citizenship' is one way to develop compliant citizens that operate within the existing power structures, and as such contribute to the process of 'deepening democracy'. 'Education' for critical citizenship is about questioning and challenging oppressive structures. Therefore, I concur with Ledwith (2007) who argues that

> … critical education, designed to encourage questioning and action for change, is founded on a different worldview - that of participatory democracy forged out of principles of cooperation and equality (p. 8).

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[38] See also Karabel & Halsey (1997).

Critical education ought therefore to be about the 'practice of freedom' rather than the 'maintenance of the status quo' (Ledwith, 2007, p. 8). Therefore, the provision of such education has to be independent from the state. It is argued that popular education has an 'organic' link with social movements (Kane, 2001, p. 31-32). In South Africa, people have citizenship as individual political status, but only sometimes do they exercise it as a collectively asserted social practice. All of this has implications for education for citizenship.

2.7.1.2 Formal citizenship education

Torres (1990) remarks that 'the dynamics of democracy relies on two logics of expansion of the capitalist system: personal rights and property rights, which often are opposed' (p. 103).[39] The dynamics between these two parts has to do with the use of societal resources as well as ethical standards of 'social behaviour' (Torres, 1990, p. 103) where education is necessary to produce these standards of social behaviour. This idea, first formulated by Enlightenment philosophers, has remained influential up to the present, and continues to have currency in South Africa today.

It has been argued that education is partly held responsible for the 'production' of 'the democratic person' (Lawy & Biesta, 2006, p. 120). Education is often seen as an important part of the social aspect of citizenship (Bron & Field, 2001). It is assumed that democracy needs rational individuals who are capable of making their own free and independent judgements. In this 'individualistic' liberal approach to democracy it is assumed that the success of democracy depends on the knowledge, skills and dispositions of individuals and on their willingness as individuals to act democratically (Lawy & Biesta, 2006, p. 120). Although citizenship education can be taught as a subject in school, Newman (1993) suggests such education is more effective and appropriate when it is directly connected to action and the larger struggle for social change.[40]

2.7.1.3 The Highlander school

One of the most famous examples of citizenship education is the Highlander Folk School (Adams & Horton, 1975) in the Appalachian mountains in Tennessee founded by Myles Horton in 1932 (Newman, 1993). The Highlander School was originally in a farmhouse and offered residential workshops for people struggling for social change (Newman, 1993). The Highlander workers

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[39] Torres (1990) highlights that this was originally an argument put forward by Bowles and Gintis (1985).

[40] For a more detailed outline on the conservative, liberal and radical debate over schooling see Aronowotz & Giroux (1986).

collaborated closely with the civil rights movement, and strived to establish citizenship schools throughout the South of the USA to assist black people learn to read and write, in order to vote. Martin Luther King spent time there, and Rosa Parks attended a workshop there six weeks before she refused to give up her seat on a segregated bus, in the gesture that helped to spark the civil rights marches of the sixties (Newman, 1993).[41]

2.7.1.4 Learning about democracy through collective action

Apart from education, there are other ways that people can learn about democracy. As was the case in South Africa in the past, people learnt about democracy through actively taking part in collective action *for* democracy. In this context, critical thinking and conscientisation are directly aimed at developing people that can assume agency and act to change the world through collective political action. Similarly, I argued in my MA thesis on education and learning in the TAC that activists learn about democracy through living it and claiming their constitutional rights (Endresen, 2004a). Although there are many good reasons for supporting education 'for' democracy, there is a limit to what can be achieved by deliberate education (Biesta, 2005b, p. 124). Lawy and Biesta (2006) suggest education cannot 'create' or 'save' democracy but only support societies in which democratic action and democratic subjectivity are real possibilities (p. 120).

Apple and Beane (1995) point out that it is in the 'details of everyday life' and 'not in the glossy political rhetoric' that the 'most powerful meaning of democracy is formed' (p. 103). It is for this reason that many educators have argued that the best way to do education 'for' democracy is 'through' democracy – by 'means of democratic forms of education' (Biesta, 2005b, p. 125). Thus, deliberate democratic education can assist people that are fighting for 'more' democracy. This requires that the facilitators use facilitation methods that are rooted in democratic principles. In practice, this means that the relationship between the participants and the facilitators must be non-hierarchical. This request was articulated by Paulo Freire (1990) in his book *Pedagogy of*

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[41] The school was established in a region of the USA that was hard hit by the Depression and where communities were exploited by mining and textile companies that often controlled towns. For a period, the Highlander School became the official labour school in the South for a major trade union body, but during the course of the 1950s and 1960s the School loosened its ties with the trade unions since some of them had become too bureaucratised, lost their radical drive and grew anti-communist (Newman, 1993). As I do not have the space to elaborate on this topic, see Adams and Horton (1975) and Newman (1993) for further literature.

the oppressed. The history of non-formal education in South Africa was significantly informed by Freire.

2.8 Philosophical Underpinnings of Non-Formal Political Education

Firstly, this part will outline concepts that are central to Freire's book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which influenced political and popular education in South Africa. Building on the Marxian concept of *praxis*, Freire (1990) politicised the concept of reflection in his work and the dialectic nature of learning and adaptation is encompassed in his concept of praxis. Praxis can broadly be translated into the combination of theory and practice. In order to explain Freire's concept of praxis further, I will discuss experiential learning, reflection, critical thinking, consciousness raising and action correspondingly. This will involve a discussion of the centrality of humanisation versus dehumanisation, problem-posing education versus banking education, and the importance of dialogue.

Secondly, I will briefly explain social movement theory, learning processes in social movements, and the role and responsibility of the educator in social movements. This will involve the development of the concept Really Useful Knowledge, used to challenge the relations of oppression and inequality from which the oppressed suffer (Thompson, 1997), and the emergence of grassroots intellectuals. Thirdly, I will explain the three characteristics of popular education: namely, that it is rooted in the real interests and struggles of ordinary people; it is overtly political and critical of the status quo; it is committed to progressive social and political change (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999, p. 4).

2.8.1 The importance of experience

Boot and Reynolds (1983) ask, 'how is learning related to experience and how should it be related?' In defining what the process of learning is Kolb explicitly links it to people's experience in that learning is understood as '... the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience' (cited in Thorpe, Edwards & Hanson, 1993, p. 155). Thus, learning is experiential.[42] Joyce and Weil (1972) argue that in order to learn from experiences the focus should be on the learner and how she or he experiences the world instead of focusing on what the realities of the world are and what an individual must then learn. Tennant and Pogson (1995) note that Freire (1990) also had this as a starting point. Piaget and Bruner argue that the

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[42] For literature on experiential learning see Boot and Reynolds (1983), Kolb (1984, in Thorpe 1993) and Warner and McGill (1989).

relationship between learning and experience is of an 'interactive' nature (Tennant & Pogson 1995, p. 150). This is the process whereby the learners reconstruct their own experiences and match more closely their existing rules in order to understand the world. This process can lead to new experiences and increased learning and so indeed believe that learning is an on-going process (Tennant & Pogson, 1995).

2.8.2 The process of reflection

Freire (1970) describes the condition of economic, social and political oppression as the 'culture of silence' (p. 12). Freire (1970) argues that no matter how submerged in the 'culture of silence' a person may be, she or he is capable of critically analysing the world if provided with the proper tools (p. 12). A human being is not an 'empty vessel' (Freire, 1990) on which culture writes its text, but a person that has real life experiences. This involves a process of action where people are encouraged to step back and reflect upon their practice, and then, strengthened from this process of reflective thought, re-engage in action. The unlearning of oppressive and dominant ideologies is central to the process of change. These processes are never straightforward but instead contradictory and complex. Human beings have agency to resist ideological domination and to change the world. By combining theory and practice (praxis), people have the potential to bring about revolutionary change.

Dewey (1916) refers to the relationship between thinking and experience as 'the method of intelligent learning' and argues that thought and reflection are fundamental and asserts that no experience can have a meaning without elements of thought. The assumption is that we seldom learn from experience unless we assess the experience, assigning our own meaning in terms of our own goals, aims, ambitions and expectations (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999). Experience has to be mediated and reconstructed in order for people to learn from it because education is not merely or necessarily a confirmation of experience (Brookfield, 1987).

Jarvis (1987) describes reflection as 'a process of deep thought, both a looking backwards to the situation being pondered upon and a projecting forward to the future, being both a process of recall and reasoning' (p. 87). In this way, reflective thinking and learning from experience form an essential part of the dialectical tradition (Boot & Reynolds, 1983). Broadly, this process begins with an experience that is followed by reflective observation and the reflection is then assimilated into a theory. Finally these new (or re-modified) ideas are tested in new situations. This model is a recurring cycle within which the learner tests new concepts and reforms them after a process of reflection. In terms of learning, experiential learning can be described as a process where the

experience of the learner is reflected upon and from this emerge new insights or new learning.[43] Here the central role of the educator is to act as a facilitator of reflection.

2.8.3 The process of critical thinking and action

The social theorist Jurgen Habermas began looking at the way social and cultural factors influence and distort people's views, initiating a set of ideas that developed into what we today call 'critical thinking'. In the past decade adult educators have been concerned with critical thinking and it has informed their thinking and practice (Brookfield, 1987). People have started wars and committed crimes against humanity on the strength of what they believe are accurate theories of human nature (Brookfield, 2005). How we think, is a matter of life and death. Theory helps us understand the world and it can enable personal as well as collective change (Brookfield, 2005).

Brookfield (2005) argues that if we live in a society where 'thought is circumscribed within certain limits that justify the correctness of the existing order' then 'critical thought' must 'exist outside of and in opposition to these limits' (p. 205). This means that thought must exist in opposition to the status *quo*. Subjectivity can only develop at a distance from everyday experience, so critical thinking is distanced from the false concreteness of everyday reasoning. Therefore, Brookfield (2005) suggests that

> Critical thinking focuses on what's wrong with what currently exists, on illuminating omissions, distortions, and falsities in current thinking (p. 206).

Before one can become liberated and start creating what could be, one need to question what already is. Experiential learning indeed focuses on deconstructing experiences and showing their one dimensional nature in order to construct new thoughts. This learning is about the questioning of authorities and power relations and realising that activists themselves can acquire expertise, build organisations and take action for change. This is what Freire (1990) called *'conscientizacao'* or 'conscientisation (p. 80, 85). Thus, critical thinking is not just about criticising the status quo but continues to build new foundations of social life.

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[43] Many adult educators make use of various educational activities that link adult learning to experience. Some of these are group discussions, simulations, role-plays, field projects, action projects, seminars, workshops, consciousness raising and group therapy (Knowles, 1970).

In order to explain praxis further, Freire (1990) refers to Lenin's famous publication *What is to be done?* that was published in 1902.[44] Lenin (1966) stated: 'Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement' (p. 69). Freire (1990) interprets this as meaning that a revolution is achieved with praxis, in other words, with *'reflection'* and *'action'* directed at the structures to be transformed. In order to achieve this, there cannot be designated '*thinkers'* and *'doers'* – every person is a thinker and a doer (p. 107).

Other theorists too challenge the idea of theory as a 'restrictive professional discourse'. To Gramsci (1978) each person is a theorist because she or he 'participates in a particular conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral conduct, and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is to bring into being new modes of thought' (p. 9). Central to Freire's ideology was the concept of humanisation versus dehumanisation – the dialectic relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed. Realising that the oppressor as well as the oppressed needed to be set free was essential to achieve liberation and it was also part of the process of becoming more fully human.

2.8.3.1 Humanisation versus dehumanisation

Freire (1990) argues that concerns for humanisation leads to the recognition of dehumanisation, as an ontological and historical reality. He notes that whilst an individual perceives the extent of dehumanisation, he or she may ask if humanisation is a viable possibility. Whilst Freire (1990) points out that both humanisation and dehumanisation are possibilities, only humanisation should be people's 'vocation' (p. 25. Dehumanisation 'marks not only those whose humanity has been stolen, but also (thought in a different way) those who have stolen it, is a *distortion* of the vocation of becoming more fully human' (Freire, 1990, p. 26). The struggle for humanisation, for the 'emancipation of labor', for the 'overcoming of alienation', for the 'affirmation of men and women as persons' is possible only because 'dehumanization, although a concrete historical fact, is *not* a given destiny but the result of an unjust order that engenders violence in the oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed' (Freire, 1990, p.26). For this struggle to have any meaning, it is fundamental that the oppressed, in fighting for their liberation, must not become 'oppressors of the oppressors' (Freire, 1990, p. 26). Therefore, when

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[44] It is a publication in which Lenin set out his thoughts and ideas on organisation. Although it has some important lessons and arguments that are still relevant today, it ought to be seen as a historical document rather than a universal strategy.

> … the oppressed, fighting to be human, take away the oppressor's power to dominate and suppress, they restore to the oppressors the humanity they had lost in the exercise of oppression (1974, p. 32).

The humanistic task is for the oppressed to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. Freire (1990) points out that mostly during the initial stage of the struggle, the oppressed tend to become oppressors rather than fighting for liberation. This is because the oppressed at some stage adopt an attitude of "adhesion" to the oppressor (Freire, 1990, p. 27). In this context, the oppressed 'do not see the "new man" as the person to be born from the resolution of this contradiction, as oppression gives way to liberation', for the oppressed, the 'new man or woman themselves become oppressors' (Freire, 1990, p. 28). To Freire (1990) this is because their vision of the new man or woman is individualistic and they have no consciousness of themselves as persons or as members of an oppressed class or group, because of their identification with the oppressor.

The word *ubuntu* in Zulu is another way of describing what Freire calls 'humanisation. *Ubuntu* can loosely be translated as 'humanism'. It is based on a Zulu proverb *'umuntu ngumuntu gabantu'*, that is, 'I am because we are' or 'I am a person because of people'. In the ubuntu ideology, a person is a person only through other people. Hence, a person is a person because of relations. I am because of your actions, and vice versa. In practice this means that true emancipation is collective emancipation rather than individual empowerment.

Freire's utopian vision is of a society in which both the oppressed and the oppressors have been liberated from the chains of their false views of the world. If however, by help of consciousness raising, the conscientised population maintains this state of liberation, the idea is that this can prevent any post-revolutionary situation from becoming distorted and corrupt. Only then, can there be true liberation. How does one facilitate such (critical) thinking? This is directly related to my study because the main aim of the facilitators in the three organisations was to develop active and critical thinking activists that could form part of a new leadership.

Problem posing education versus banking education

In analysing the education system, Freire (1990) concludes that education often becomes an 'act of depositing, where the students receive and the teacher is the depositor (p. 53). This he calls 'banking education. Here knowledge is a gift granted by those who consider themselves 'knowledgeable' in front of them whom they regard as those who 'know nothing'. The poles of the 'teacher-student contradiction' must be reconciled so that both parts are simultaneously teachers and students (p. 53). In banking education the teacher is the subject and the student is the

object. According to Freire (1990), a revolutionary leadership must practice an education that is for both teachers and students. This means to move away from the banking education concept in which (amongst other things) reflects the view that:

- the teachers teaches and the students are taught;
- the teachers knows everything and the students know nothing;
- the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
- the teacher chooses the program content, and the students adapt to it;
- the teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the students are only objects (Freire, 1990, p. 54).

In problem-posing education the facilitators should raise issues that are relevant to the participants. In raising an issue the facilitators could for example try to make something familiar appear strange in order for it to become an object under investigation. In the process of recounting experiences, as a first step, the facilitators could then add the scientific information and create processes that would allow learners to integrate this new information into their consciousness. This could improve the participants' understanding of the subject matter. Through dialogue, the participants could arrive at new insights, and in this way, start to see private troubles as public issue (that is, making the individual struggle a collective struggle).

Freire (1990) points out that 'Whereas banking education anesthetizes and inhibits creative power, problem-posing education involves a constant unveiling of reality. The former attempts to maintain the *submersion* of consciousness; the latter strives for the *emergence* of consciousness and *critical intervention* in reality' (p. 62). In problem-posing education, people develop their power to critically recognise the way they exist in the world. They come to see the world not as a static reality, but a reality in process and therefore, they see the possibility of transformation. In problem-posing education people teach each other. Both the educator and participants are understood to have valuable experiential knowledge. Freire (1990), however, points out that

> For the truly humanist educator and the authentic revolutionary, the object of action is the reality to be transformed by them together with other people – not other men and women themselves. The oppressors are the ones who act upon the people to indoctrinate them and adjust them to a reality which must remain untouched. Unfortunately, however, in their desire to obtain the support of the people for revolutionary action, revolutionary leaders often fall for the banking line of planning program content from the top down (p. 75).

Therefore, it is not for the educator to speak to the people about their own view of the world, not to attempt to impose that view on them, but rather to dialogue with the people so that both views surface (Freire, 1990). It is important to realise that peoples' 'view of the world, manifested variously in their action, reflects their *situation* in the world' (p. 77). If educational and political action is not critically aware of this situation it runs the risk of banking education (that is, preaching in the desert). To avoid alienating the people, it is essential that educators and politicians' language are attuned to the concrete situation of the people they address (Freire, 1990).

What differentiates education from incidental learning is the deliberate construction of knowledge through dialogue:

2.8.3.2 The importance of dialogue

Freire (1990) claims that as we attempt to analyse dialogue as a human phenomenon, we discover the essence of dialogue, the word. By looking at the constitutive elements of the word, he says that the word is more than just an instrument which makes dialogue possible. He says that within the word one finds two dimensions, reflection and action. The two dimensions he argues have such a strong interaction that with one of them, even partly sacrificed, the other component will suffer. It is on this basis that he argues:

> There is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis. Thus, to speak a true word is to transform the world (Freire, 1990, p. 68).

Freire (1990) contends that human existence cannot be silent, nor can it be nourished by false words, but only true words, with which men and women transform the world. He says:

> To exist, humanely, is to *name* the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new *naming.* Human beings are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action-reflection. But while to say the true word – which is work, which is praxis – is to transform the world, saying that word is not the privilege of some few persons, but the right of everyone. Consequently, no one can say a true word alone – nor can she say it *for* another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words (Freire, 1990, p. 69).

Dialogue is an encounter between women and men who name the world. It must not be a situation where some name the world on behalf of others. Freire (1990) highlights that a

pedagogy of the oppressed 'must be forged *with,* not *for,* the oppressed (p. 30). Therefore, political action on the side of the oppressed must be pedagogical action, meaning action *'with'* the oppressed (Freire, 1990, p. 48). In other words, if it is in speaking the word that people transform the world, dialogue is the way by which they achieve significance as human beings. Therefore, dialogue is central to naming, and changing, the world. Dialogue is the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world which is to be transformed and humanised. Therefore, such dialogue cannot be reduced to the act of one person's 'depositing' ideas in another, nor can it become a simple exchange of ideas to be 'consumed' by the discussants' (Freire, 1990, p. 70). Thus, without dialogue there is no communication and without communication there can be no true education (Freire, 1990, p. 73-74). In education, therefore, the educator has an important role to play in helping participants 'name the world' as a first step towards transforming it (Freire, 1970, p. 61).

Freire (1990) warns that to achieve praxis, it is fundamental to 'trust in the oppressed and in their ability to reason' (p. 48). Consequently, those who do not trust in the oppressed, will fail to initiate dialogue and reflection, will succumb into using slogans, monologues and instructions. Therefore, the right method for revolutionary leadership in the mission of liberation is to use dialogue, not 'propaganda' (Freire, 1990, p. 49). Lastly, true dialogue cannot exist unless the dialoguers engage in critical thinking, thinking which 'perceives reality as a process, as transformation, rather then as a static entity' (p. 73). Such thinking does not separate itself from action, rather it always immerses itself in issues of concern without fear of the risks involved (Freire, 1990). Freire (1990) notes that

> Critical thinking contrasts with naïve thinking, which sees "historical time as a weight, a stratification of the acquisitions and experiences of the past", from which the present should emerge normalized and "well-behaved". For the naïve thinker, the important thing is accommodation to this normalized "today". For the critic, the important thing is the continuing transformation of reality, in behalf of the continuing humanization of men [and women] (emphasis added in brackets) (p. 73).

Given this, only dialogue which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating critical thinking. Dialogue should help people make the link between their personal experience and the socio-political context in which they live. Wright Mills (1959) said:

> Know that many personal troubles cannot be solved merely as troubles, but must be understood in terms of public issues – and in terms of the problems of history-making.

Know that the human meaning of public issues must be revealed by relating them to personal troubles – and to problems of individual life (p. 226).

A critique of Freire

Freire's theory has fallen prey to much critique. The main critique relates to the relevance of Freire's ideas in current times. According to Peckham (2003), some critics suggest 'that his theory may have been useful in its time and place, but is does not fit twenty-first-century urban North America' (Peckham, 2003, p. 228). John (2009) suggests that some authors have questioned the 'relevance of Freire's revolutionary theory in non-revolutionary contexts and have expressed difficulty with the terms oppressor and oppressed in contexts where the struggle is not overtly class based … ' but rather based on other identity issues such as gender, race, sexual preference, religion and so forth (John, 2009, p. 52).

Peckham (2003) notes that Freire was willing to reinvent himself. For example, 'he recognized that his early modernist, class-oriented philosophy was note adequate for the multiplicity of subject positions in which people find themselves (p. 228). In fact, Freire (1993) states:

It is always important to foreground the particularity of oppression against a background of multiple possibilities…We must not lose sight of the need to recognize multiple constructions of power and authority in a society riven by inequalities of power and exclusionary divisions of privilege and how these are implicated in the constitution of subjectivity differentiated by race, class, and sexual preference (p. x-xi cited in Peckham, 2003, p.228-229).

Another critique of Freire is that he promoted an oversimplified concept of the teacher. Elbow (1986) and Weiler (1994) criticize Freire for 'pretending to be on the side of the students, while the teacher is irrevocably located on the other side of the desk' (Peckham, 2003, p. 229). Bizzell (1993) argues that there is a fine line between teaching students how to read a text critically and teaching them what critical message to read. John (2009) points out that another common critique is Freire's use of sexist terms such as `man' and 'mankind' in his early works (p. 53).[45] Freire was open to criticism about such sexist language and tried to rectify these in his later works such as for example Freire's conversations with Myles Horton in *We make the road by walking it* (Horton & Freire, 1990). One post-modernist critique of Freire is provided by Margonis (2003) who refers to the view that the 'cultural mind set underlying Freire's pedagogy leads to a

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[45] For a feminist critique of Freire, see Hooks (1993).

modernizing and Westernizing mode of consciousness', which can be seen as a type of cultural invasion (p.145).

In search of the right track for adult education, radical adult educators have often looked to social movements as a site for social change (Welton, 1993; Holford, 1995). Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999) suggests that social movements 'ask big, universal questions about what it means to be human' (p. 10). They argue that social movements often are 'disturbingly subversive' and that they 'tend to raise much more profound and existential questions than the essentially pragmatic politics of the state' (p. 11). This is because they raise questions about, for example, the relationship between men and women, human beings and the environment, master and servant (p. 10-11). Collective learning processes that happen in social movements can contribute to the development of a clearer understanding of the link between personal experiences and socio-political context.

2.9 Social Movements

Social movements are understood as collective action to address issues of inequality, exclusion, human rights and discrimination, and are accordingly considered part of the historic struggle for democracy and social justice (Barker & Dale, 2003). Social movements are often theorised in terms of the cultural politics of identity, political economy and social class (Della Porta & Diani, 2003). Social movements tend to be autonomous from the state and political parties, are organisationally loosely structured, and are considered more democratic and participatory than traditional political organisations such as political parties and trade unions that are often dominated by a powerful leadership (Barker & Dale, 2003). Social movements are movements of people in civil society which come together around issues and identities that they themselves define as important (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999). Social movements have the potential of drawing people into the public world in explicitly political activities, educating both the public and activists about the issues, and developing skills that can be useful for citizenship purposes (Coare & Johnston, 2003).

In this context, Welton (1995) points out that one can broadly understand old social movements (OSM) such as trade unions and left-wing political parties as focused on the politics of class and the social relations of production, while new social movements (NSM) are based on the politics of identity: for example ethnicity, gender, sexuality and difference such as indigenous movements or gay rights movements. In South Africa NSM are understood as collective action to address issues of poverty, unemployment and poor service delivery. Thus, they are generally understood in terms of class politics rather than identity politics. TAC is one of the most successful South

African NSM's, which campaigns for the right to access antiretroviral treatment. NSM may operate more spontaneously, building on identity and reacting to single issues rather than having a longer term political aim with deliberate education (Welton, 1993; Kane, 2001).[46]

Eyerman and Jamison (1991) comment on the reciprocity of social movements: 'Social movements are at once conditioned by the historical context... and, in turn, affect that context through their cognitive and political praxis' (p. 62). Social movements express shifts in the consciousness of actors, as they are articulated in the interactions between the activists and their oppositions in historically situated political and cultural contexts (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991). Thus, social movements are a valuable place for consciousness raising and for learning about politics and citizenship.

2.9.1 Learning processes in social movements

In Vester's (1975) analysis of E.P. Thompson's (1963) classic work *The Making of the English Working Class* he seeks to establish that social movements are a privileged case of such learning as they represent 'collective learning processes' that are components in the class conflict that Marx analyses. Consequently, this can contribute to the development of a clearer self-understanding (indeed, ideological clarity - for example a fuller grasp of social structure and historical process) and the mode of organisation necessary to effect campaigns against a movement's opponents (Vester, 1975). This relates to my study in that Vester (1975) argues that social movements are a valuable place for learning – learning about politics, social structure, and history and learning how to organise.[47]

Consequently, there has evolved a debate on the implications for adult education of the so-called NSM as a site of creating new knowledge (Holford, 1995). Adult education is a key component in this process. Eyerman and Jamison (1991) suggest that social movements should not be seen mainly as a challenge to established power, nor on an individual or collective level but also as a

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[46] For a discussion of leadership in social movements see Barker, Johnson and Lavalette (2001).

[47] Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999) note how through acting people can become politicised and confident to speak out about their problems and how they can learn to speak in public, to organise action and moreover how this can spark off other political understanding and interest. They point out how the process of struggle can help people make the connections between poverty, ill health and environmental issues and even more importantly between communities at both a national and international level.

socially constructive force, as a fundamental determinant of human knowledge (p. 48-49). It is by the cognitive process that a movement is formed and that it establishes an identity for itself. Moreover, it is in the development and creation of new thoughts and new knowledge that a social movement defines itself in society.[48] Holford (1995) suggests that social movements are a place in which people produce Really Useful Knowledge (discussed below) and at times new knowledge.

2.9.1.1 What is the role and responsibility of the educator in social movements?

What is the position and responsibility of the educator within the role of education in social movements? Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999) understand the role of the educator as a 'social actor', who has the ability to intervene or use agency. In other words an educator has the possibility and responsibility to manoeuvre the dialogue. Cooper (2005a) asks 'what is the role of the workers' educator: to "push" a political line, or to remain ideologically neutral' (p. 1)? She notes that her research into South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) suggests that ideologically-directive forms of trade union education are 'not necessarily authoritarian nor incompatible with democracy, and ordinary union members contribute to the union's principles and ideological perspectives in a variety of ways' (p. 7-8). In a structured trade union education programmes, the educator role is often assumed by union staff, and 'experts' are often brought in from the outside, although a non-hierarchical relationship between educators and learners is promoted, and it is common for participants to openly challenge the view or the expertise of the educators. Therefore, Cooper (2005a) notes that

> … hierarchical relations normally associated with didactic and ideologically directive forms of pedagogy are significantly moderated by a number of factors: the shared nature of the educator role and the collective educational role that ordinary workers assume; the widespread participation by members in the activities of the union; and the use of culturally-embedded forms of communication (p. 8-9).

These factors make the role of the educator in popular education different from that of the traditional teacher. This suggests that the relationship between the facilitators and the participants must be non-hierarchical. Instead of acting as the expert, the educator tries to engage people in meaningful and challenging dialogue in which the educator asks questions and provoke analysis. The fact that the participants are understood to be people with useful

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[48] For more literature on how knowledge can be shaped by social movements see Thompson (1963); Williams (1961).

experiences encourages participation across the workshop. Widespread participation is strengthened by the use of specific facilitation techniques. For example story telling is a culturally embedded form of communication. It is crucial that the learners have the ability to speak in their own mother tongue.

The next part will introduce the concept of Really Useful Knowledge (Holford, 1995; Thompson, 1997). In order to produce Really Useful Knowledge it is crucial to encourage critical analysis and critical thinking rather than merely reflection on experience. This requires educators who are social actors. Their role is to identify existing knowledge, to build on this knowledge and produce new knowledge by encouraging reflection so that the old and new knowledge get integrated.

2.9.1.2 What is Really Useful Knowledge?

Holford (1995) believes that adult educators can be central to the emergence of new knowledge and social change itself because adult education can be understood as a cause, contributing to, or part of, a democratic movement of social progress (p. 96). This usage was widespread in Britain and underpinned much international policy especially during the Cold War and was characteristic of theorists such as Lindeman and Kidd (Brookfield, 1987; Thomas, 1987). Thompson (1997) argues that linked to radical adult education and critical thinking is the development of 'Really Useful Knowledge' that can help people understand the nature of their present condition and how to change it (p. 145). Really Useful Knowledge was political knowledge that can be used to challenge the relations of oppression and inequality from which the oppressed suffer (Thompson, 1997).

Adult education in social movements often happens through participatory modes of knowledge production: knowledge not transmitted as a fixed commodity but created in dialogue that values local, connected / situated knowing and indigenous knowledge systems. New action-oriented insights are encapsulated in the phrase 'Really Useful Knowledge' (Johnson, 1979), the knowledge needed to '[learn] our way out' (Milbrath, 1989; Finger & Asun, 2001). Here, both adult education and community development attempt to be system transforming: they recognise the importance of human agency, and view people as subjects of their own destiny and as infinitely capable of re-making their reality (Endresen & von Kotze, 2005).

Crowther, Martin & Shaw (1999) note that women's education turned into adult education in Scotland, and recognised that knowledge is always socially situated and never neutral.[49] From a

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[49] For more literature on feminist education see Thompson (1995), Walters and Manicom (1996), Stromquist (2000, 2001).

popular education perspective knowledge is not acquired merely through abstract, rational thought but by experiencing, interacting with and reflecting on the material world in which we live. There is a need to challenge the pervasiveness of the ideas of the dominant class, as they tend to control the state, business, formal education and media, for it appears that this is a 'natural' and 'common sense' state of affairs and that there exists no alternative to this. This is what Gramsci (1978) called hegemony, the social condition in which all aspects of social reality are dominated (although never completely) by one class. From this perspective, he believed it was crucial to create a new working class (proletariat) hegemony: a counter hegemony to the ruling class (bourgeoisie). In this context, consciousness is not static but changing and transformed in interaction with others and through participation in campaigns and actions for social change.[50]

This counter-hegemonic knowledge recognises human agency, and sees people as actors in control of their own destiny, able to change their lives. Dwyer (2003) states, as creative social beings, people 'construct and change the social world', and so an analysis should focus on the relationship between agency and structure (p. 36). Sometimes analysis of structures relies heavily on capitalist development and ignores the notion of agency and the ability to take action. Reducing agency to structure in this way denies conscious agents the capability of initiating action - for example against the negative effects of globalisation – and, effectively, denies agency.

Giddens (1984) contends that structures influence people's agency but that they only continue to exist insofar as they are sustained by people's repeated actions. He argues that, depending on the circumstances and the actors in question, structure can enable them to meet their objectives. In this conception social change is not something that just happens, it is a process, expressed and worked through by individual agency in specific historical and changing conditions that are subjectively interpreted. Focusing either on structure or on agency is to neglect the relationship in which structure shapes action and action conditions structure. Structures often have set rules but the individuals working within that structure are conscious actors stirred by values and needs that can decide whether they want to play by, and apply, those rules.

Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999) suggest that education for social purpose can develop 'critical knowledges' – these being 'knowledges that aimed to make you free' (p. 30). They argue that Really Useful Knowledge is 'aimed at people changing rather than adapting to prevailing conditions'. The development of Really Useful Knowledge can help people understand the nature

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[50] For more literature on Really Useful Knowledge, see Johnson (1979).

of their present condition and how to change it (Thompson, 1997, p. 145). Really Useful Knowledge is political knowledge that can be used to challenge the relations of oppression and inequality from which the oppressed suffer.

Related to Really Useful Knowledge is the role of grassroots intellectuals, which I will briefly discuss later.

2.9.1.3 The role of grassroots intellectuals

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) used the term 'organic intellectuals'.[51] Gramsci's (1971) eminent conviction that 'all men are intellectuals … but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals', supports the argument that the working class can generate its own intellectual force (p. 9). In this view, the 'organic intellectual' took a collective character within a working-class social formation in which the role of theory was organically linked to proletarian life. Gramsci (1971) stated:

> The mode of being of the new intellectual can no longer consist in eloquence, which is an exterior and momentary mover of feelings and passions, but in active participation in practical life, as constructor, organizer "permanent persuader" and not just a simple orator (p. 10).

The intellectual for Gramsci is not a segregated elitist intellectual group but one that establishes the unity among a group of activists. The concept of grassroots intellectuals is important to an analysis of adult education in social movements. Vester (1975) states that movements which do not invest in their own participants and do not have cultures of emotional solidarity and tools for sustaining themselves, are at best parasitic on mainstream institutions and likely to lose participants to them when the pressure becomes too much; and are at worst unsustainable en bloc. Such an analysis seems to draw on Gramsci's (1971) notion that 'A human mass does not 'distinguish' itself, does not become independent in its own right without, in the wide sense, organizing itself; and there is no organization without intellectuals' (p. 334).[52]

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[51] Gramsci was a prominent Italian Marxist theorist, journalist, political activist and parliamentarian, leader of the Italian Communist Party (1924-1926) and a political prisoner under Mussolini (1926-1937) (Marshall, 1998, p. 264).

[52] Gramsci (1978) focuses not on the intelligentsia as a social stratum but on organic intellectuals as key figures in a formation of social groups and emerging social classes. However, there is some controversy over the precise meaning of the term. My understanding is that 'organic

Grassroots intellectuals are 'individuals who through their activities articulate the knowledge interests and cognitive identity of social movements' (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991, p. 98). These intellectuals can be professionals but as the movement develops there is a need to develop new kinds of intellectuals – organic intellectuals without formal qualifications. The role of a movement intellectual is very important, but this is not to say that that every activity of a movement intellectual is an educational one (Holford, 1995). The role of intellectuals in movements is key in an adult educational analysis of social movements as it allows us to focus on the role of adult education as an important tool for social change (Holford, 1995).

Popular education has contributed to adult education, both theoretically and practically, throughout the world. It is also suggested that popular education is often understood as an attempt to develop an 'anti-hegemonic' culture (Kane, 2001, p. 15).

2.9.2 Popular education

Paulo Freire is often seen as the 'Father' of popular education and popular education has played an important role in Latin America for almost forty years in the struggle of grassroots organisations to bring about social change. 'Popular education' is the English translation of the Spanish *educación popular*. Important nuances are lost in the translation into English. The Spanish word *popular* as such, stems from the Spanish *barrio popular*, which means poor or working class neighbourhood. In Spanish and Portuguese, *popular* means 'of the people', referring to 'the poor' or 'the peasants' – 'the people' are often referred to as 'the popular classes'.[53] Trade unions, neighbourhood associations, peasant associations and women's groups could all be considered as 'popular' organisations (Kane, 2001, p. 8).

From a popular education perspective knowledge is not acquired merely through abstract, rational thought but also by experiencing, interacting with and reflecting on the material world in which we live. Action is the primary concern of popular education and people are encouraged to step back and reflect upon their practice and then, strengthened from this process of reflective thought, re-engage in action. Popular education is defined by purpose and standpoint and this has consequences for methodology. I will use the Scottish definition of popular education since it

intellectuals' are not teachers or left-wing academics but Marxist party activists in 'active participation in practical life as constructor, organiser, permanent persuader'… (p. 10) (emphasis in original).

[53] This I understand as referring to the working and peasant classes, as well as the unemployed in, for instance, South Africa.

is the most political one (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999). Specifically, I will use the three characteristics of popular education: it is rooted in the real interests and struggles of ordinary people; it is overtly political and critical of the status quo; it is committed to progressive social and political change (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999, p. 4). These characteristics will help me later decide whether education in the three organisations can be characterised as popular education. In am aware that there is always a potential danger in comparing 'real-life' education programmes in South Africa against an abstract, 'ideal type' model of education, which possibly does not exist anywhere in practice. However, I will use these concepts as a lens when analysing the three programmes.

Popular education has the following characteristics: its curriculum comes out of the concrete experience and material interests of social movements and communities of resistance and struggle; its pedagogy is collective and democratic, focused primarily on group rather than individual learning and development; it attempts to forge a direct link between education and social change (Crowther, Galloway & Martin, 2005).[54] The belief that education can never be politically neutral broadly differentiates popular education from other liberal adult or non-formal education (Kane, 2001, p. 9). In other words, if education within social movements does not side with 'the oppressed' and the marginalised and attempt to change society, then it necessarily sides with 'the oppressors' in maintaining the existing structures of oppression (Freire, 1970). A political commitment that favours the popular classes is therefore, historically, central to popular education.

2.9.2.1 Rooted in the real interests and struggles of ordinary people

In terms of the three education programmes, this would mean that the facilitators' ability to build on participants' own experiences would require a participatory approach in the way the facilitators' should intervene to steer the course to keep the subject matter close to the participants' most immediate and strongly felt priorities. The level of participation by course attendees would depend on the facilitators' capacity to build on participants' experiences and encourage engagement and dialogue. In the context of popular education this means that the subject matter ought to derive from the participants' experiences – what Freire called the basis for problem-posing education, as I alluded to earlier.

Overtly political and critical of the status quo

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[54] For a broad range of literature on popular education see Arnold & Burke (1983), Arnold, Barndt & Burke (1985), Beder (1996) and Mackenzie (1993).

Distinct from merely 'populist', popular education is overtly political - questioning dominant power (that is, counter hegemony) (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999). Popular education is political and critical of the status *quo,* as opposed to formal education in South Africa which aimed to reproduce the status *quo* (Alexander, 1990, p. 17). In terms of the three education programmes, facilitators' ability to be overtly political and critical of the status *quo* would depend on their ability to construct and fulfil an education programme that represents a critical view of the state, business and civil society, as well as civil society organisations. It is oppositional and it sides with the oppressed. Its pedagogy is collective, focused primarily on group as distinct from individual learning and development (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999, p. 5).

Committed to progressive social and political change

The third characteristic of popular education is its commitment to progressive change – social and political. The facilitators' ability to stay committed to social and political change throughout their educational activities depended on their capability to link theory to action. In other words, this meant that the facilitators would have to ensure that the education went beyond the workshops and that the participants' modelled behaviour based on the theory that they had learnt. Popular education attempts, wherever possible, to forge a direct link between education and social action (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999, p. 5). It is therefore essential that popular education must translate with agency to make progressive social and political change.

2.10 Conclusion

I outlined the history of formal and non-formal education before 1994 as the broader context of political, social and economic change. I explored theories of democracy, learning for citizenship, citizenship education and popular education. This helped me contextualise my study as I worked towards definitions of democracy, citizen, citizenship and citizenship education. I also discussed the shift from citizenship education to citizenship learning. All of this was useful in order to familiarise myself with many of the existing theories because in chapter 5 I will analyse what participants in education programmes understand by being a 'citizen' in post apartheid South Africa and what it is that people need to learn to become active or critically thinking citizens.

Crick (2000) argues that historically there has been a fundamental difference between the concept of a citizen and the concept of a subject. Broadly, the subject obeys the laws by paying their taxes and obeying the overall rules of the country. The citizen, on the other hand, plays an active role in challenging such rules and developing new ones. The two views are not opposed and both are important. Before 1994, many South Africans were preoccupied with fighting for recognition of citizenship (that is, 'the concept of a citizen'). In South Africa after 1994 citizens

have largely succumbed to exercising the 'concept of a subject'. Now they belong to the citizenry in terms of status but they are struggling to exercise their rights and participate in the exercise of political power.

The process of civic disengagement is a serious global political problem that demands an urgent educational response (Crowther & Martin, 2005a). In South Africa today it seems that the broad focus is on 'active citizenship' and 'empowerment' of citizens (Department of Education, 1996). There is less emphasis on building a critical thinking citizenry. Therefore, I concur with Ledwith (2007) who argues that 'critical education' must 'encourage questioning and action for change' because it 'is founded on a different worldview - that of participatory democracy' and 'equality' (p. 8). Critical education ought to be about the 'practice of freedom' rather than the 'maintenance of the status quo' (Ledwith, 2007, p. 8). This type of education has to be non-formal, in support of the poor, and independent from the state.

Since popular education is considered an important component of education for active citizenship (Coare & Johnston, 2003), I have presented an extensive literature review of popular education and citizenship education in other countries in order to provide the theoretical context in which to analyse examples of contemporary non-formal citizenship education in Cape Town. Having considered whether these examples do indeed fit the definition of citizenship education at the present time, this study then aims to establish whether non-formal education in present-day Cape Town can be characterised as popular education and citizenship education. For this purpose, I will use three characteristics of popular education by Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999) and the concepts of empowerment and emancipation by Inglis (1997) in order to examine samples of non-formal education

In chapter 1 I explained the rationale of my study, and I outlined the context in which it ought to be understood. Chapter 2, amongst other issues, discussed the particular sociological determinants used to understand how consciousness raising and emancipation happen. In chapter 3 I will explain the selection process, the research methodology and tools of analysis of my case studies.

Chapter 3
Research Methodology and Fieldwork

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters I situated non-formal education within the political economy of South Africa. In addition thereto I outlined perspectives of citizenship education theory and popular education theory as it offers a useful conceptual framework to help contextualise some non-formal political education today. This is linked to the methodological foundations of my fieldwork, and also to the findings and analysis of the primary research in chapters 4 and 5, which I outline in this chapter respectively.

Non-formal education before 1994 may not explicitly have set itself the task to contribute to 'education for democracy', i.e. preparing people 'for' democracy, but it often provided future leaders with democratic experiences and understanding. I intended to enquire what kind of non-formal citizenship education exists now, that aims to build civil society by promoting social justice and social reconstruction in the new democracy. I searched for evidence that could tell me if participants were becoming increasingly active and critically thinking citizens. This would support the facilitators' proclaimed objective that by the end of the training the participants would be better able to 'struggle for change' (I will elaborate on this in chapter 4). To begin with, I asked the following research questions:

- How do selected organisations in post apartheid South Africa go about developing active or critical [critically thinking] citizens?
- What is it that people need to learn to become active or critical [critically thinking] citizens and how do they learn it?
- What are facilitators' and participants' understanding of 'citizen' in post-1994 South Africa?

The research was conducted in two phases. Phase one was about identifying examples of different organisations which at the time of my research offered non-formal citizenship education in Cape Town. This involved key informant interviews and purposive sampling. I eventually selected three cases across sectors. In phase two, I decided to use qualitative research methods because it allowed me to do an in-depth case study of a smaller number of organisations

(Mouton, 2001). For this purpose, I did document review, semi-structured interviews and observation. I also kept a journal. I used a critical paradigm to frame my research methodology. The conceptual framework I outline in chapter 2 provides analytical tools for the discussion in chapter 5, where I use definitions of popular education as a lens to help me characterise education in the three organisations (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999; Inglis, 1997; Coare & Johnston, 2003).

3.2 Phase One
Preparing for the Research

Previous research has shown that activists in the TAC in Durban learnt democracy 'by doing' (Endresen & von Kotze, 2005). Based on my research and activism in organisations and movements in Durban and Cape Town I asked myself whether there was a need to assist activists to develop deeper insights about the social, political and economical life of South Africa in the context of global forces, so they would be better equipped as a leadership to claim their rights and develop their campaigns. Initially I did not know what to expect to find so I decided to conduct my research on education for citizenship, whether it would be in the form of non-formal citizenship education or popular education. My field work started in May 2005 and ended in May 2006. All references which I make to my research on the three organisations refer, accordingly, to this time period. For a start, I needed to establish what different organisations offered education, to whom, and for what purpose.

3.2.1 Identifying 'spaces' of non-formal education in Cape Town

Non-formal education has a long history in Cape Town. Initially, therefore, I embarked on 'mapping the terrain' of non-formal education, as I needed to know what existed. First, I thought that I would map all organisations in Cape Town that do non-formal education. After I had called several organisations I realised that this would constitute a whole study in itself. Since my aim was to investigate non-formal citizenship education in order to get answers to the questions outlined above I needed to do in-depth studies of a small number of organisations rather than descriptively map out what existed in the way of non-formal education in Cape Town.

Drawing on the history of civil society organisations and non-formal education prior to 1994, I identified specific sectors and institutions that had historically been identified with non-formal citizenship education. These included:
- The labour movement (labour research institutes, trade unions, etc.)

- The private sector (organisations for public interest in democracy and rights, etc.)
- NGOs / Community Based Organisations (CBOs) (organisations for human rights, education, gender, youth, etc.)
- Civic associations (associations for rent payment, neighbourhood watch, anti-crime, etc.)
- Religious organisations (Baptist, Catholic, Protestant, Islamic, Hindu, Quaker, etc.)
- Social Movements (social movements for basic services, etc.)

Having identified the main sectors that traditionally provided non-formal education I attempted to locate groups within the various sectors.[55]

3.2.2 Identifying organisations – 'snowballing'

To help me identify organisations that provided non-formal education at the time of my research, I used various sources of information, one of these being historical overviews on formal and non-formal education in South Africa (Aitchison, 2003; Bird, 1984; Christie, 1991). This allowed me to establish a historical framework for this study and cross check whether the information from each study was reliable.

To find out what the Department of Education and the Department of Labour provided in terms of training, I contacted them via e-mail. Not receiving any response I decided to phone them. Similarly, I e-mailed and phoned the ANC and the DA. Then I used the telephone directory to help me identify the main trade unions and religious institutions. To get an overview of non-formal education in the labour movement, I contacted COSATU and National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) regional offices. To locate existing NGOs I contacted the South African Non Governmental Organisation Coalition (SANGOCO), the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), the Catholic Development Centre and the Community Development Resource Organisation.

'Snowballing' is a methodological tool that allows the researcher to build on contacts met during the research. Accordingly, when I met people – at political meetings and demonstrations – whom I deemed relevant to my research I asked them for contacts they thought would be useful. In this way, different people 'opened up doors' to meeting more people who in turn allowed me to attend their meetings and workshops. I made use of my contacts with NGOs such as the Alternative

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[55] See Gush and Walters (1998), Aitchison (2003) and John (2009) for a more detailed outline of non-formal education in South Africa pre 1994.

Information and Development Centre (AIDC), International Labour Resource and Information Group (ILRIG), Labour Research Service (LRS) and Workers World (with whom I had a connection in AIDC, NWM and TAC, as well as cooperating with COSATU via the above mentioned organisations and also through attending public events such as rallies, marches and strikes.

I then decided to do key informant interviews with organisations across the sectors that I identified above in order to select what would become my case studies.

3.2.3 Key informant interviews

Each key informant in an organisation was asked to respond to the following questions:

 'What education do you offer?'

 'Who is your target audience?'

 'What is the purpose of your education?'

Once I had gathered the data about the kind of programmes they offered, and their content and purpose, I did purposive sampling to help me select three cases.

3.2.4 Purposive sampling

Erlandson et al. (1993) note that using purposive sampling requires that two major decisions be made: first select who and what to study, and then decide whom and what not to investigate. In this way, there must be a process of elimination in order to narrow the pool of all possible sources. As such, there are no hard and fast rules governing sampling size, especially since I was looking for richness, not volume.

A thorough screening process narrowed my selection to the three organisations that scored highest in terms of my three criteria: quantity, target group, and specificity of purpose. Firstly, I looked for the one that provided the most substantial 'quantity' and highest regularity of training. Secondly, I aimed for the one with the broadest 'target audience'. Thirdly, I looked for 'specificity of purpose', meaning the one that had a clearly defined purpose. A further criterion was to select according to whether the three organisations were different types of organisations within one sector, or different organisations across sectors.

I selected three organisations: AIDC, an NGO, COSATU, a congress, and TAC, a social movement registered as an NGO. The three organisations were all at the forefront of the

Western Cape Coalition, which aimed to build a united front against unemployment and poverty. The programmes they offered were all at beginners' level, and therefore allowed a measure of comparison.

3.3 Phase Two
Research Methodology

Before outlining the practical steps I used to gather the data, I will discuss the merits of the methodology. Mouton (2001) suggests that there are broadly two types of research - quantitative research and qualitative research. Quantitative research is often used to gather a large amount of information relating to individuals, a group or a community, using, for example, surveys (Mouton, 2001); an instance of this would be the commonly accepted practice of soliciting opinions by means of a survey. Broadly speaking, a survey is a process where quantitative facts are collected about individuals, a group or a community, in which subjective meaning is used as a basis for empirical validation. It is often used to gather a large amount of information in a short space of time with an eye to generalisation, cost effectiveness and efficiency (De Vaus, 2002). For the present research it was important to employ a methodology and tools that would generate 'thick descriptions' and allow insight into how people understand their role in society. A survey would not have generated this information; furthermore, it would have approached people as passive, static, and unchanging rather than as individuals who have conscious agency.

Secondly, since survey interviews are often conducted in one-to-one isolation they can be impersonal and alienating. Set in an artificial social context, this renders it more difficult for the social individual to grasp the contextual significance of questions. Thirdly, this approach neglects the historical aspect of the research environment, which is important when trying to understand the complexities of social experience (Mouton, 2001). Nevertheless, it is not my intention to suggest that quantitative and qualitative research are methodologically antithetical. Rather, I believe that in every case the kind of methodology that will be appropriate needs to be adjusted for the particular set of circumstances being investigated.

3.3.1 Qualitative research

Qualitative studies aim at providing an in-depth description of a smaller number of people (Mouton, 2001). Choosing to do a qualitative study allowed me to do document review, semi-structured interviews and observation of a small number of participants in three organisations. This also allowed me to contextualise and analyse the data in the participants' everyday practices. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) point to the diversity in qualitative research

Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them (p. 2).

Given the nature of this research, qualitative research methods were appropriate as I wanted to conduct in-depth studies of a small number of organisations (Mouton, 2001). The choice of methodology was also appropriate because the epistemological approach underpinning this research conceived of individuals as actors of social process rather than as aggregations of discrete individuals. This implied that a research methodology that simply scaled or ranked personal and social phenomena would be insufficient. What was required was a methodology that allowed data to be contextualised in everyday practices, political beliefs, and the ways in which the social individual takes up questions and tries to resolve ideas and problems.

The type of data I sought was thus historical and contemporary. I used recorded secondary sources, together with information from books, newspapers, videos, films and other sources such as hand-outs and pamphlets. This was in combination with collecting unrecorded original primary data such as the stories told by facilitators and participants, and by activists both from the past days of the liberation struggle and from ongoing contemporary engagement. Thus, my main instruments for data collection were document review, semi-structured interviews and observation. Such a research methodology must allow one to begin to grasp the complexity of peoples' lives, not simply show the result of peoples' ideas and actions, allowing the meaning they attach to it to be explored and aid the theoretical development of an analysis of the learning processes that occur between activists through being involved in action. Considering my requirements, I decided to use a case study.

3.3.2 Case study methodology

I used case study methodology. I did three case studies with each NGO as the unit of analysis. However, qualitative research data presentation has different options. As I analysed the data, similar themes started to emerge across the three organisations. To avoid repetition in the presentation of the data, I elected to do a cross-case presentation because this allowed for patterns to be established across the programmes. This research draws on qualitative research through three case studies of participants in education programmes in three organisations. Case studies use both qualitative and quantitative data and generally make use of a variety of data collection methods and sources. Case studies are widely used in qualitative research and aim to provide an in-depth description of a small number (less than 50) of cases (Mouton, 2001). The

strength of using case studies is that they have high construct validity, in-depth insights and establishing rapport with research subjects (Mouton, 2001). Case study methodology is increasingly used in educational studies (Bassey, 1999). Several South African educators have done case studies in education but I have quite extensively drawn on the work of the two following authors in my work. Walters (1989) produced three case studies of community resource agencies in Cape Town in the early 1980s. More recently, Cooper's (2006) case study explored informal learning within a South African trade union.

Merriam (1998) differentiates between various senses in which the term 'case study' is used in qualitative research, namely:

- the *process* of conducting the *case study (studying* the case)
- the *unit of study* (the *case* that is studied)
- and the *product* of this type of investigation (the final written *document).*

Firstly, Merriam (1998) characterises the qualitative case study as *particularistic* in that it focuses on a particular situation. Secondly, she views the case study as *descriptive* in presenting a rich, 'thick' description of the phenomenon under study. Thirdly, the case study is *heuristic* because it illuminates the reader's understanding of the phenomenon under study, and leads to the discovery of new meanings (p. 29-30).

Case study definitions

This part will present a range of case study definitions. The following two definitions indicate that case studies are studies of a single *instance* or *unit.* Macdonald and Walker (1975, cited in Bassey) contend that 'Case study is the examination of an instance in action' (p. 22). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) state: 'The purpose of such observation is to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit' (p. 185). Case study researchers hold that to understand a case, to explain why things happen as they do, and to generalise or predict from a single example requires an in-depth investigation of the interdependencies of parts and the patterns that emerge.

> Case studies strive to portray 'what it is like' to be in a particular situation, to catch the close-up reality and 'thick description' Geertz (1973) of participants' lived experiences of, thoughts about and feelings for, a situation (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000, p. 182).

Case study research entails in-depth, intensive enquiry reflecting a rich and lively reality of the case. The following definition of case study point to a further central feature, that the case is approached and studied as a *whole* or *system.* Stake (1995) argues

> The case is an integrated system. The parts do not have to be working well, the purposes may be irrational, but it is a system (p.2)

The feature implies the existence of boundaries to the case and that the parts are interconnected in such as way that a study of the parts in an isolated fashion will not provide the same understanding as would a study of the parts in dynamic relationship to each other.

The relationship between the researcher and the case study

A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, particularly when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2003, p. 13). Therefore, MacDonald and Walker (cited by Bassey, 1999) argue that

> ... educational case studies need the 'fusion of the styles of the artist and the scientist... Case study is the way of the artist, who achieves greatness when, through portrayal of a single instance locked in time and circumstance, he [or she] communicates enduring truths about the human condition (p.24).

John (2009) highlights the importance of the 'interconnectedness' between the researcher and the case studied, and 'the preferred style of the researcher in conducting a case study' (p. 97). While the definitions and descriptions above clearly signal that a case study is a study of a singularity, a number of the definitions refer to the idea or purpose of finding *patterns, generalisable* relationships or *enduring truths* (John, 2009, p. 98). John (2009) also points out that not all writers believe that 'generalisable results are a necessary outcome of case study research' (p. 98).

Limitations of case study

Limitations of using a case study approach involve the danger of distortion, as it is difficult to cross-check information gathered in all cases. The use of a case study might be very influenced by the particular sources that are consulted, and in that way, get a very different result if other methods were used. The subjectivity of the researcher is critical otherwise the researchers' bias is likely to influence how the case is constructed and the results it reveals. Case studies are usually informed by a particular context and are therefore not necessarily trustworthy for generalisation to similar cases. Case studies can provide a rich variety of information about a

phenomenon. Bell (1987) suggests that case studies can 'provide readers with a three-dimensional picture and... illustrate the relationships, micropolitical issues and patterns of influence in a particular context' (p. 12).

Different types of case study

Yin (2003) distinguishes between three types of case study: exploratory, explanatory and descriptive. An exploratory case study could involve grounded theory.[56] Descriptive case study outlines a complete description of a phenomenon within its context. Bassey (1999) discusses four broad styles of case study: ethnographic, evaluative, educational and action research case studies. An ethnographic case study examines a single case in-depth through participant observation supported by interview. Evaluative case studies present educational actors or decision-makers with information that will help them to decide the merit and worth of policies, programmes and institutions. An educational case study is concerned with understanding educational action rather than evaluating it. A case study in action research is concerned with contributing to the development of the case or cases under study by feedback of information which can guide revision or refinement of the action.

Case studies can be used to generate understanding of and insight into a particular scenario by providing thick in-depth description of a case. A case study can be used to provide theoretical insights in form of grounded theory that arises from the case study itself or in developing and testing existing theory with reference to the case. Also, case studies can occasionally assist analysing other cases, and as such, provide a level of generalisation. Yet, this is not my intention with this study. Case studies can be used to explore a general problem or issue within a limited and focused setting. Participant and non-participant observation, unstructured interviews with key informants, sample surveys, analysis of documentary evidence and information in administrative records, analysis of significant events occurring within the research period, and content analysis of key documents issued by the study subject have all been used to varying degrees in case study research (Marshall, 1998; Mouton, 2001). The key research questions (Appendix D) for this research are exploratory and descriptive (Durrheim, 1999). Consequently, and considering my requirements, I decided to use flexibly structured discussions allowing questions to be posed about contradictory ideas and actions together with participant observation.

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[56] As this goes beyond what I intend to discuss in this thesis, see Glaser and Straus (1967) for an in-depth explanation of grounded theory.

3.3.3 Document review

To begin with, I systematically familiarised myself with the country and with the history of adult education under the liberation struggle. I read a large range of books (academic and otherwise), news articles, and online publications.[57] To further cross check the validity of the interviews and observation, I did document reviews. Examining course outlines, teaching material, and other printed and visual materials (such as posters, leaflets, advertising materials, pamphlets etc.) from the three organisations, I looked for evidence of participants 'struggling to learn' and 'struggling for change'. This information will appear in chapter 4.

Furthermore, I examined documents put out by the relevant organisations as well as South African government policy documents on adult education. Although the policy documents employed rhetoric such as 'citizenship', 'participation', and 'empowerment' there was very little that had any bearing on citizenship education as a concept (Department of Education, 2001a). I did an in-depth review of certain documents for the purpose of my research (Appendix H). Additionally, I scrupulously cross-checked all my data, checking for correlation between information gathered through interviews, observation and document reviews.

3.3.4 Semi-structured interviews

One of the primary tools that qualitative researchers use is interviewing, in particular in-depth interviews (Durrheim, 1999). Interviews can be structured, open-ended, semi-structured or unstructured. The format of the questions and answers in structured interviews is tightly controlled. The unstructured interview is useful when the research question cannot be narrowly defined as in exploratory research (Mouton, 2001). Unstructured interviews emphasise the interviewee's thoughts, which can be a useful method if the aim is to find out about sensitive issues such as domestic violence, drug use or sexual behaviour (Durrheim, 1999). It is an interactive approach, which encourages open discussion between people.

Initially I did not know what to expect from the interviewees. Based on my observations as a volunteer and researcher in these organisations, I designed questions that I thought would be useful. I began by conducting a series of pilot interviews, in which, to avoid bias, I used questions that were very open without any particular focus geared towards what I intended to find out. For instance, I initially asked them 'What do you think about the workshops?' Realising that some of the principles were too abstract, I then adjusted them to focus more directly on how the

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[57] I also learned about contemporary South African society and history from my fellow passengers in the 'combi' taxis that provide public transport for the masses everywhere in South Africa.

workshops had affected the participants, asking instead: 'What impact has this learning had on your life?'. According to whatever happened to be politically topical at the time of the research, I would also add a question related to current news events: for instance, the security workers' strike and the Jacob Zuma corruption and rape trials (Appendices E & F). Such issues raised questions of transparency and morality in government with a direct bearing on issues of democracy.

My design of semi-structured interviews was informed by my desire to enter into an exchange in which I expected to start with activists' formative years and how and why they got involved in deliberate education and collective action. I anticipated this process would raise many questions and points of discussion. I therefore chose to gather data about the lives of activists using interviews that centred on life history. This allowed interviewees to reflect on how the training related to their own lives. It proved a useful method to help me understand not only individual agency but also the social milieu of which the activists are a part. I used semi-structured interviews and primary data to foster dialogical interaction between myself and interviewees and so 'capture' any unexpected data that might arise from the interview (Durrheim, 1999).

Broadly, the interviews were guided by questions that should be understood not as a rigid set but rather as a tool to facilitate and encourage discussion. They were framed more as an aide-memoire to get people talking and to establish whether the education contributed to active or critical citizenship. The length of the interviews were approximately 1,5 hours. First the participants explained their life history, and then they spoke about their experiences with the non-formal education. All interviews were recorded with a tape recorder and transcribed fully by myself. I interviewed one facilitator in each of the three organisations. I interviewed 9 participants in the AIDC, 7 participants in COSATU and 6 participants in TAC (Appendix C).

In the AIDC, the interviews were conducted at the AIDC office or at the place of the workshop events, and one in Mdantsane Township in the Eastern Cape. Some of the COSATU interviews were conducted at the COSATU offices. Other interviews took place at the participants' workplaces. One of the interviews took place at the participant's home. Another two happened at a hotel whilst two participants were invited to a workshop in Cape Town by another organisation. Most of the TAC interviews happened at the TAC office in Salt River. However, one took place at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and another one in Cape Town city centre.

3.3.5 Identifying participants

As part of the research, I observed workshops in the three organisations from May 2005 to May 2006. This enabled me to approach many participants directly. Having already spoken to key

informants in the organisations, I used the 'snowballing' method to identify other participants that I could interview.   This method helped me identify the 'seasoned' participants from the 'newcomers'.   All the programmes were at beginners level, and new participants would join the programmes along the way.   It also helped that I was introduced by the facilitators at the beginning of each training so 'new' participants would know me and my role in the education programme.

In the AIDC some of the facilitators and participants were already known to me, and I was able to locate AIDC informants quickly because they were all gathered at one place during the one-week set of workshops.   Since the locations of the training were always far from Cape Town the organisers helped me find local overnight accommodation during the workshops.   This enabled me to conduct interviews in the morning before the training or in the evening after the training. During the day this would not have been possible because of the busy workshop schedule.

From the AIDC, I got the contact details for the education officer in COSATU Western Cape. Attending the COSATU workshops allowed me to meet participants and arrange them for interviews. Again, I used the snowball method where one participant would give me the number of a fellow shop steward.   Each participant that I encountered was more than willing to be interviewed, however, as all members were extremely busy it was often not easy to arrange interviews. Given the busy schedules of the interviewees, I would mostly conduct the interviews at their workplaces or at their homes in and around Cape Town.

In the TAC, I had met some facilitators and participants as an activist and this opened doors. The location of the training was always at the TAC offices, where it was easy for me to meet with the participants as a number of them worked there.   The fact that many participants were unemployed meant that they could easily make time for interviews.

3.3.6 Observation

Marshall (1998) argues that

> Non-participant observation is a research technique whereby the researcher watches the subjects of his or her study, with their knowledge, but without taking an active part in the situation under scrutiny (p. 452).

This approach is sometimes criticised on the grounds that their being observed may lead people to behave differently, thus invalidating the data obtained. To overcome this, researchers usually observe a number of similar situations, over a period of time.   I also used observation in

combination with other methods to cross check the validity of my data. I attended three training programmes of each of the organisations and observed the interaction between the facilitators and the learners (Appendix G). I wanted to see what type of education was provided and I looked specifically for interaction between facilitators and learners. I made a point of observing every workshop during the time frame which I have indicated. All the while I collected data by observing the participants and the environment in which they operated and recorded detailed notes in my field journal. I will therefore refer to observation as 'journal' in chapter 4 (Appendix I). In the workshops, I observed the subjects of my study 'without taking an active part in the situation under scrutiny' (Marshall, 1998, p. 452). Apart from this, I also did participant observation of the three organisations at events and demonstrations.

3.3.7 Participant observation

Participant observation studies are usually qualitative in nature and aim at providing an in-depth description of a group of people or community (Mouton, 2001). Mouton (2001) notes that:

> Such descriptions are embedded in the life-worlds of the actors being studied and produce insider perspectives of the actors and their practices (p. 148).

Participant observation usually involves a range of methods ranging from participation in the life of the group / participants to collective discussions (Marshall, 1998). Marshall (1998) notes that:

> The central methodological problem of such research is balancing adequate subjectivity with adequate objectivity (p. 482).

The major aim of participant observation is to enter the subjective worlds of those studied and to see these worlds from their point of view. Therefore the researchers stand at risk of imposing their own views upon the research participant (Marshall, 1998). On the other hand, it is also problematic if the researcher only stays with the participants own view because this will prevent one from seeing the world from different points of view. 'Too much detachment' weakens the insight that participant observation brings but 'too much involvement' renders the data of questionable value for social science (Marshall, 1998, p. 482). Participant observation may take several forms. Marshall (1998) refers to four roles that may be adopted within participant observation, namely: complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant and completer observer (p. 482). These four roles capture the subjectivity versus objectivity dilemma. The role as 'complete participant' approaches what Marshall (1998) refers to as 'going native' (p.

482). This means that the researcher would only present the view of the subjects studied. On the other hand, 'complete observer' runs the risk of being 'too distant and uninvolved' to generate important insights into the subjective features of behaviour (p. 482).

Kane (2001) contends that outsiders attempting to write about 'popular education' can challenge 'insiders' to rethink issues and give important insights (p. 4). On the other hand, the researchers' as 'outsiders' might misinterpret what they see and arrive at mistaken conclusions since the analysis is not based on years of practical experience. Being involved in social movements and organisations in Cape Town allowed me to straddle both insider and outsider roles. Observation and participant observation allowed me to cross-check data by taking on insider and outsider roles. To contextualise the study and research focus I attended events organised by NGOs, social movements and COSATU. AIDC events, workshops, and public meetings of an educational nature, took place at the AIDC offices or at Community House in Salt River. This could range from a report back from the World Social Forum (WSF) in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2005 (Journal, AIDC, 20 January, 2005, Salt River) to the book launch of Gumede's *Thabo Mbeki and the fight for the Soul of the ANC* (2005) (Journal, AIDC, 01 August, 2005, Salt River). Other events were, for example, the COSATU May Day rally in 2006 and the launch of the Western Cape Coalition in the Cape Town City Hall on 22 August 2005, in which AIDC, COSATU and TAC amongst many others were present. In addition to this, I spent hours around the offices of the three organisations, talking to participants and facilitators. I also had meals with participants after training sessions.

I also attended pickets and demonstrations. Among these was, for instance, the farms workers demonstration in Stellenbosch organised by Sikula Sonke (that also formed part of the Western Cape Coalition), in which the Right to Work (R2W) had a prominent presence. Other demonstrations were, for example, the Public Sector strike in 2006, the COSATU national strike on 27 June 2005, the SACTWU picket outside the factory of *Rex Trueform* in Salt River in 2006. In 2006, I attended a picket organised by TAC outside the International Convention Centre in Cape Town where the conference on 'microbicides' was held (Appendix I).

I looked for indicators of citizenship such as participants' increased participation and the ability to think critically, challenge issues and develop new alternatives. I searched for evidence of the participants' 'struggle to learn' and evidence that would support facilitators' proclaimed objective that by the end of the training participants would be better able to 'struggle for change'. My objective was to ascertain whether the education aimed to reproduce structures and relations of power and class interest or whether it encouraged people to critically analyse and act upon their own situation (Kallaway, 1984). The study sought to discover what beliefs, norms and values

influenced the various programmes and how these informed the curriculum. Besides this, there were several aspects to take into consideration when deciding on what analytical tools to use.

3.4 Analytical tools

With the Department of Education (2001) committing itself to the establishment of a unified national system underpinned by 'democracy', 'equity', 'redress', 'transparency' and 'participation' and the ANC promising to encourage 'active involvement and growing empowerment' through the RDP, democracy, citizenship, rights and responsibilities are all issues put squarely at the centre of contemporary South African political debate. Adding to this the important role that non-formal education played in the liberation struggle, this study sought to uncover what happened to education for civil society.

The conceptual framework I outline in chapter 2 furnishes analytical tools for the discussion in chapter 5, where I use them as a lens to help me characterise the education in the three organisations. Following up on Coare and Johnston's (2003) account of the importance of popular education as a component of learning for active citizenship, I wanted to find out if the three programmes could indeed be characterised as popular education.

Individual critical consciousness does not necessarily result in collective action, nor does the existence of collective social action necessarily assume critical consciousness on the part of individuals. Inglis's (1997) definitions of 'empowerment' and 'emancipation' are particularly useful in the way they illuminate issues of purpose in popular education, highlighting empowerment as an element in education for active citizenship and emancipation in education for critical citizenship (p. 4). The definitions of Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999) and Inglis (1997) served as guidelines for analysing the nature of the educational work in the three organisations, also lessening the risk of bias in my own analytical approach.

I also used Crick's (2000) differentiation between the concept of a citizen and the concept of a subject. He argued that: a subject obeys the laws, and a citizen is someone who assumes agency and plays a part in making and changing it (Crick, 2000, p. 4). This helped me distinguish between participants who were subjects that obeyed the laws by paying their taxes and obeying the overall rules governing the country, and participants who were citizens that played an active role in challenging existing rules and developing new ones. As I started analysing the data various themes developed across the three organisations. This allowed me to establish patterns across the three organisations.

3.5 Research Ethics

Edwards and Ribbens (1998) contend that when undertaking a qualitative study researchers are constantly 'working on the edges' of and frequently having to engage with dominant understanding of what 'proper' research means (p. 4). As qualitative researchers exploring everyday lives it is important that we constantly interrogate the nature of the knowledge we are producing and who we are producing it for (Edwards & Ribbens, 1998). Kimmel (1988) notes that this is determined by the treatment of the research participants, responsibility to society, and integrity in the collection, analysis, and reporting of data (p. 40).[58] Given this, I ensured that the interviewees and their information were treated with confidentiality and respect.

3.5.1 Confidentiality

Privacy and confidentiality are important ethical issues to social researchers who, by the very nature of their research, frequently request individuals to share with them their thoughts, attitudes, and experiences (Kimmel, 1988). It is critical that the researcher respects and protects the confidentiality of the individual and only uses the data as agreed with the individual (Edwards & Ribbens, 1998). Kimmel (1988) suggests that 'An individual's responses obtained during a social research investigation are regarded as confidential when identifiable information (that is, information that includes a name, address, or other forms of unique identification) is not revealed by the researcher to others' (p. 97). Consequently, I gave the facilitators and participants pseudonym names. However, the choice of name given is some indication of her/his cultural background and home language. Interviewees signed a consent form indicating that they were willing to let me use the data on condition that I did not divulge their private names and addresses (Appendix B).[59]

3.6 Limitations of the Study

3.6.1 Bias

It may never be possible to write about anything from some imagined politically neutral perspective (Kane, 2001). When a researcher has personal and political intentions in undertaking research this is often referred to as bias. The researcher will consequently always have to struggle with the possibility that findings will sustain bias within society, as for instance where

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[58] Applied social research is essentially 'atheoretical' in nature (Kimmel, 1988, p. 10)

[59] Additionally, my application for ethical clearance is in the process of being finalised (see letter from the Faculty of Education Research Office).

prejudiced individuals use results that are consistent with their belief to support discriminatory policies (Pervin, 1978). In such cases, Kimmel (1988) suggests that researchers should try to make the best possible prediction of how their findings will be used, and, when possible, they should select a course of investigation that will help protect those at the focus of the research. Edwards and Ribbens (1998) warn of the possibility that the researcher's emotional or subjective involvement can manipulate the process in order to serve personal interests.

Research must be analysed in the context in which it was undertaken so that the researcher's point of view cannot interfere with the analysis of the data (Mouton, 2001). The researcher might look for particular things to be able to draw the conclusion that she or he wishes, but present the outcome as if it was that of the interviewees. Kane (2001) argues that the best way to be scientific and non-manipulative is to ensure that the author's beliefs are openly available for inspection rather than just embedded in a text (p. 3).

It cannot be denied that the values and beliefs of authors do inevitably influence the research questions they pose, the evidence they select and the analyses they develop. As far as possible, however, I put my activist self aside in favour of my role as a researcher. Having said that, the selection of literature and analytical tools place me within the paradigm of 'radical adult education', and my motivation is that this study will contribute to the production of a critical paradigm.

In chapter 4, as a methodological choice, I let participants 'speak' because it is the best way to allow them to have 'voice'. This is in line with the Marxian concept of 'praxis' articulated by Paulo Freire (1990), namely that no matter how submerged in the 'culture of silence' a person may be, the subject is capable of critically analysing the world if provided with the proper tools. The authenticity of informants' voices added depth and allowed me to better understand their views and experiences. Besides being a methodological choice, it was also a 'political' choice with regards to the 'culture of silence'. I wanted to prevent the culture of silence from repeating itself. Yet, it is not my intention to provide any level of generalisation beyond the three organisations.

3.6.2 A reduced number of interviews were conducted

All together, I had intended to complete approximately ten interviews with participants in each programme because this allowed me to do an in depth study of a smaller number of people, in line with the qualitative research approach. Considering that the three programmes had about thirty participants each, ten was a suitable number. Time constraints led me to reduce this target (see below). I aimed to complete either three or six interviews with facilitators, depending on the

number of facilitators in each programme and their level of involvement. Given that COSATU and TAC both had one main facilitator, I decided to interview one facilitator in each organisation.

3.6.3 Language

According to The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) (Republic of South Africa, 1996), everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one may do so in a manner that is inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights. Each person also has the right to instruction in their language of choice where this is reasonably practicable. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) recognises eleven official languages, namely Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Although English is the mother tongue of only 8,2% of the population, it is the language most widely understood, and the second language of the majority of South Africans.

Although many of the informants in my study spoke English as their home language, some preferred Afrikaans or isiXhosa, and for one of the Afrikaans speaking participants in COSATU I required a translator. The importance of expressing oneself in one's own mother tongue cannot be underestimated; for many interviewees the responses may have been yet richer if they had spoken in their preferred language. In addition to this, English is also my second language and I may have missed some of the nuances in their utterances. In addition, words like 'citizenship' and 'democracy' do not have direct equivalent translations in African languages and therefore would have to be rendered. Some of the meaning ascribed to words like 'democracy' and 'citizenship education' may have got lost or confused in interviews due to language constraints. To limit the loss of meaning I cross-checked what the different participants had said. All the participants responded eagerly to the questions about what democracy and citizenship meant to them. They all had similar ideas as to what it meant. None of them seemed unsure about the questions asked or how to respond.

3.6.4 Public transport

Some of the participants lived and worked in areas far away from Salt River where I stayed. The fact that I did not have private transport posed a challenge for me. At times there was little or no connection with public transport to the areas where my interviews took place. I also got delayed because of the (combi) 'taxi wars'.[60] More than once there were violent incidents in areas that I

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[60] For years there has been violent competition between taxi owners regarding route territory.

had to travel through, one occasion being the day I travelled by taxi to Mitchells Plain but got stuck on my return: there were no taxis because of yet another outbreak of taxi violence. Eventually, I did manage to get a bus, but few bus drivers dared to venture into the area and the busses that did were mostly full. All this was time consuming and it was also dangerous. However, travelling with public transport was also useful because conversations with people gave me a sense of the daily life of people.

3.6.5 Financial and time constraints

Perhaps with more financial support I could have broadened my research area to include Johannesburg and Durban. This could have given me the opportunity to get an insight into similarities and differences between education for civil society in the three major cities in South Africa. Time was another obstacle, not unrelated to the use of public transport. Travelling consumed a lot of my time that I could have spent doing other things such as reading, writing or conducting more interviews or focus groups.

Some AIDC informants worked at the AIDC offices in Salt River so that I could easily meet with them. Others I only met when they travelled to Cape Town for training events. These workshops were run from morning until evening. There was little time to play and little time for me to conduct interviews. I had to interview the participants either early in the morning or late at night. I quickly realised that early in the morning was the best, after they had had a night of sleep. Night time proved to be problematic, as people obviously needed time to rest after a long day.

COSATU participants had full-time employment. Additionally, they were busy fulfilling their duties as shop stewards. It was quite difficult to fix dates for interviews, and there were times where the interviews were cancelled due to work or family commitments. They worked long days and they often worked through the lunch break. As shop stewards they had to advise union members or perform administrative shop steward tasks. There was very little time to meet with them. There were times that I felt bad because I was 'stealing' the little 'free' time they had. TAC activists were always busy with a campaign, a demonstration or at times suffering from opportunistic infections due to their HIV positive status. Still, they were often unemployed and free to meet me at the TAC offices. For all these reasons, I fell short of the full ten interviews I had originally envisaged for each organisation.

All the participants trusted me enough to be interviewed, and I quickly gained their confidence. I gave them assurance of confidentiality and my own trustworthiness. In COSATU specifically this allowed the participants to trust me and to introduce me to other shop stewards. I also told them about my intention and about my own involvement in civil society organisations. This allowed me

access to their lives as they openly told me about their work, their activism and quite often their personal lives.

3.7 Conclusion

My study investigated some citizenship education in Cape Town. This qualitative study was based on a number of selected cases. Therefore, it was never my intention to generalise from this study, either within Cape Town or beyond. However, organisations of a similar nature in other cities, perhaps other countries, may find some of this information useful. Having outlined the research methodology and merits of the data collection, the next chapter will present the data. In chapter 4 I will introduce the three organisations – their history and aims. Then I will provide the space for facilitators and participants to 'speak' by introducing themselves using their own words. Having looked at the data, I created different 'themes' of learning. Subsequently, under the various 'themes', I grouped the data across the three organisations.

Chapter 4 will explore the lives of the participants and the facilitators, as personal and social circumstances may impact on the learning processes. Through listening to and understanding personal experiences, I want to try to find out how participants understand what they have learned and the ways in which it has affected them. It is a process of trying to understand many things, not least the feeling of belonging to social movements, trade unions and organisations, and being governed by a democratic government whilst finding themselves in opposition.

Chapter 4

Research Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data collection and consists of two parts. The first introduces, in alphabetical order, the three selected organisations – whose focus is on supporting the efforts of, respectively, shop stewards (COSATU), unemployed people (AIDC), and HIV positive people (TAC) – and their education programmes. I first outline general objectives for the three organisations and then I introduce their campaigns and education initiatives, as well as their course outlines. I then describe one specific workshop in each organisation, as an example of what a workshop may look like and how their education ideas translate into practice.

The second part of the chapter begins with an introduction of the facilitators (by allowing facilitators the opportunity to introduce themselves) and their objectives for doing this work. I then introduce participants, including their reasons for attending the workshops. Here, I also present how participants in the three different organisations understand their roles and identities as participants, activists and citizens, the spaces and dynamics through which they engage to articulate their interests and the learning that happens in these spaces through training and collective action. Finally, participants speak about their activism in relation to issues of democracy, participation, rights and accountability, and the relationship of citizenship to issues of power, globalisation, neoliberalism, poverty and unemployment.[61]

This will allow me to gain some insight into the three organisations' education and their facilitators. It will also inform me about the participants' reasons to attend the training, their expectations, as well as their response to the education. This will help me answer my research questions that concerns how selected organisations in post apartheid South Africa go about developing active or critical [critically thinking] citizens, what it is that people need to learn to become active or critical [critically thinking] citizens and how do they learn it, and what are facilitators' and participants' understanding of 'citizen' in post-1994 South Africa? It is important

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[61] Most of the participants look at themselves as activists but I refer to them as participants since my research is with them as participants in a particular training programme.

to note that this information is based on the organisations within the time frame of 2005 to 2006, and that the focus of the organisations may have changed since then.

Part One

4.2 Alternative Information and Development Centre (AIDC)

> Together with HIV/Aids, unemployment is like a virus eating away at the heart and soul of our communities (R2W leaflet, February 2006).[62]

A key objective of the AIDC's 'Right to Work' (R2W) campaign, launched in Cape Town, is to draw attention to the unemployment crisis and to promote job creation through alternative economic reforms. Formed in 1996, the AIDC is a non-profit, NGO based in Observatory in Cape Town (AIDC, 2006). It has its headquarters in a small house in a previously low-cost area of an increasingly fashionable suburb. The name and the logo of the organisation are painted on an outside wall. Inside, the walls are decorated with struggle posters, and posters for old AIDC publications and forthcoming marches and events.

As an organisation, the AIDC

> … aims to contribute to the development of national, regional, and international challenges to the currently dominant global economic system through research, information production and dissemination, popular education, campaigning and coalition building. Through the empowerment and mobilisation of progressive organisations and popular social movements, AIDC further aims to contribute to the development of alternatives that ensure fundamental socio-economic transformation (AIDC, 2006).

The AIDC is an intellectual coalition of diverse left wing groupings and activists dedicated to fostering critical thinking and inquiry, and to researching and presenting alternatives to the current status *quo*. Set up, broadly speaking, to challenge the ascendancy of neoliberalism in the processes of globalisation that affect South Africa and everywhere else in the world, the AIDC has achieved a certain status and standing amongst the community of the radical left, not only locally but globally (Alternatives, December 2006). The AIDC takes its inspiration from

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[62] This leaflet was part of AIDC literature. Similarly, COSATU and TAC used a range of readings without date or name of author. Therefore, I will mention the references to such literature in this chapter rather than including it in the bibliography.

philosophers and theorists such as Karl Marx, Leon Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg, as is evident in their library and reading lists for workshops (Journal, AIDC, May 2005-May 2006, Observatory).

The organisation was formed by a few 'apartheid-struggle' individuals when a deceased comrade left money to start an alternative information centre. As the organisation grew it received further funding, locally and abroad, from various churches, NGOs and trade unions (Journal, AIDC, 28-30 November 2005, Bloubergstrand), making it possible to take on additional staff and run workshops and youth camps that would create a space for people on the left struggling for socio-economic and political change (AIDC, 2006).

4.2.1 Organisational structure

The AIDC describes itself as committed to 'participation', 'critical thinking' and the development of 'alternatives', which challenge the status quo amongst its staff and members (AIDC, 2006). Many of the people selected on the board are political allies of the director. Many of them share the same anti-apartheid struggle history and often the same political opinion. The AIDC has a director but all major decisions have to go through the AIDC board of trustees. The board consists of 12 individuals (Journal, AIDC, 12, February 2006, Observatory). The AIDC staff consists of sixteen people, three of whom are interns. The staff comes from various backgrounds but are mostly people who have been involved in the movement against apartheid or are involved in current challenges related to labour issues, social movements, HIV / Aids, the global social justice movement, the antiwar movement and so forth (Journal, AIDC, May 2005-May 2006, Observatory).

4.2.2 Education and training in the AIDC

Broadly speaking, there are three categories of AIDC education initiatives: Occasional workshops for the public, AIDC Youth Camps and Local Campaign Organisers (LCO) training. In pursuing its goals, the AIDC disseminates information largely through publications and training. To this end, the organisation consists of four units: a Research and Publications unit, a Globalisation and Alternatives unit, a Resource and Information Centre, and an Education and Campaigns unit. The main focus for the AIDC is the R2W campaign with its R2W training programme. I focus on the Right to Work programme here, because it is a consolidation of the AIDC's objectives and, as I will show later, an example of citizenship education.

4.2.3 The Right to Work Campaign (R2W)

In April 2005 the AIDC embarked on the R2W campaign which had its official launch at the R2W 'Unemployment and Globalisation' conference which took place in Cape Town at the end of 2006 to coincide with the AIDC's own 10th anniversary. An AIDC publication outlined that:

> Underpinning the Coalition, especially at a local level, is a programme of economic literacy aimed at empowering local activists to understand the causes of unemployment and most importantly the elements of an alternative economic development strategy that is job creating (Alternatives, Special Edition, December 2006, p. 1).

Beyond the training workshops for local campaign organisers initiatives such as petitions, speakouts, cultural events and popular tribunals were part of encouraging the participants to struggle. Through a combination of research, capacity building and advocacy initiatives the project campaigned for the right to work to be constitutionally guaranteed so that the unemployment crisis would be recognised as a national emergency, with state, private sector and civil society together developing alternative development strategies that would ensure the diversification of the economy, and in this way create jobs (R2W leaflet February 2006).

Although criticised from both the political right (for being 'ultra left') and the left (for being 'reformist'), the campaign seeks to bring together sections of the labour movements with the organisations and movements of the unemployed and, together, put pressure on the state and the private sector (R2W leaflet, February 2006). The backbone of the campaign was to develop '*R2W Forums'* in the various provinces of South Africa. The forums would provide an educational space where people could help each other to learn to understand the policies of government and the language of the corporate world and politicians. In the period from late 2005 until the time I ended my research, R2W forums hosted regular informal discussions. In 2006 the R2W focused on developing accessible 'fact sheets' to help people understand questions such as, 'does globalisation cause unemployment?', 'why are so many women and youth unemployed?' and 'will government's expanded public works programme help create jobs?' (R2W leaflet, February 2006)

R2W campaigners were 'groomed' and prepared for action in local campaign organiser workshops. Here, I give a broad outline of a sample R2W training programme based on information and observation gathered from a training session in Cape Town in 2006.[63] I will also introduce the main R2W facilitator.

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[63] Across the three organisations the facilitators referred to the education as 'training'. Hence, I will use training or workshop interchangeably.

4.2.4 A sample workshop at AIDC

4.2.4.1 Logistics of the workshops

Participants were selected on the basis of their responsibility for the R2W campaign in their provinces, and although key people attended regularly, new ones would appear at every training session. National workshops took place every three months, over a period of four to seven days, when 20-25 provincial campaign organisers would travel to Cape Town. After the workshop they were expected to return to their branches to report back and to share the knowledge and information gathered in Cape Town.

4.2.4.2 Atmosphere

The walls of the training venue were decorated with slogans: 'Make unemployment history'; 'Demand the right to work'; 'Support the right to work campaign'. There were also t-shirts for course participants, bearing the slogan 'Demand the right to work - Constitutionalise the right to work'. When the participants arrived they started dancing and singing new and old struggle songs. This created a relaxed and friendly atmosphere, which helped new participants feel comfortable in the new workshop environment.

4.2.4.3 Content

It was difficult to find a course outline for the year because although facilitators had a broad plan for the course it was one they developed as they went along according to the varying needs of the R2W campaign as it evolved. The R2W (2006) leaflet noted that activists in the campaign are expected to have a general understanding of the political economy of South Africa, the roots of unemployment and poverty, and how these are linked to broader processes such as globalisation. The facilitation outline stated that the aim was to encourage critical thinking as well as building participants' political and economic understanding of a current local and global South African perspective. The leaflet also stated that it aims to build critical thinking and confidence amongst the participants. I will give details of observation on this later in this chapter.

The first day of the training was usually about taking stock of the R2W campaign followed by a recapitulation of previous workshops. There was always a tea break at one o'clock, from which political debate would emerge and participants from the various R2W branches got to share their

experiences. The day always ended with supper and informal political discussions over cups of tea and coffee.

The second day was both practical and theoretical training that the facilitators thought important in order for the participants to meet their challenges in their organisations. The following topics were on the workshop outline:

'The need to build through political economy education'

'What is a Campaign?'

'Why do people initiate campaigns?'

'Types of campaigns'

'The twin viruses: unemployment and HIV/Aids'

'Why do we need the R2W (socio- economic and political context)?'

'R2W demands'.

Usually, the facilitator would start by asking the participants' opinion about the topic. For example, the facilitator asked: 'what do you think is important when designing a campaign?' The participants responded: 'That it's relevant to the people in that area'. The topics were addressed by facilitators but participants added their views during the various inputs. The workshops varied from short (10 minutes) and long inputs (40 minutes) to group work (20-30 minutes) and group work presentations (5-10 minutes per group) to role plays (1 hour preparation and 30 minutes acting out the role play) and films (30-60 minutes). Throughout the presentations participants usually asked questions and commented on the various topics. Questions were also raised (both from facilitators and participants) at the end of every input and presentation.

One facilitator did a 10 minute long input where he drew on his own experiences as a factory worker, and stressed the importance of the trade union and how he had been part of building a campaign in the workplace. He also invited responses towards a plenary discussion. 12 out of 21 participants took notes. 16 out of 21 participants asked questions. This was a clear indication that the participants took interest in the presentation and that the topic was of relevance to them. However, some inputs were too long and reminded one sometimes of a lecture rather than participatory education. Another facilitator held a 1 hour long lecture and did a formal power point presentation about the 'way forward' for the R2W campaign (AIDC, Journal, 30 Jan – 1 Feb 2006, Bloubergstrand). During this lecture only 5 out of 21 participants took notes. Not surprisingly only 3 out of 21 participants asked questions. The input was long and formal, and as a result the participants lost interest and ability to concentrate.

To make sure that the participants were on the same level, the end of the workshops were always followed by recapitulation. Then the participants were separated into their local R2W groups where they identified objectives for the R2W in their area so as to develop appropriate local strategies. For example, such objectives were to build the R2W campaign in their area through building campaigning skills amongst the R2W participants. All the participants had to do report backs on the R2W branches in their area. Some participants had developed links with the trade unions in their area, others with churches and youth organisations. All the participants spoke and 18 out of 21 participants took notes during this session. One facilitator also took notes during all the presentations. The report backs were followed by another input (40 minutes) on 'How an economy works', covering basic economic concepts such as economic policy, economic sectors, production, markets, competition, interest rates, gross domestic product, trade, imports and exports, foreign direct investments, domestic investments, and so forth. This presentation lasted for 40 minutes and there was little involvement from the participants. It became clear that the participants lost interest when an input lasted more than 10-15 minutes. The most effective learning happened when the participants were allocated enough time to ask questions and respond to questions.

The third day of workshops began with a quick review of upcoming sessions and objectives for the R2W campaign. Thereafter, the following topics were on the agenda:
> defining unemployment and overview of unemployment over successive stages of development of the market economy (mercantilism, industrialisation, manufacturing and neo-liberalism);
> mass unemployment as a primary feature of neo-liberalism;
> economic thinking shaping society and economies;
> solutions to the unemployment crises.

The facilitators introduced the abovementioned topics and this was followed by a debate between the facilitators and the participants. The facilitators sometimes played 'devil's advocate' by asking questions that were inconsistent with the facilitators' personal views, in order to tease out the desired answers from the participants. For example, one facilitator said: 'The governments' economic policy does not affect the unemployment rate'. One of the participants replied: 'It does matter, because when the government is developing economic policies such as GEAR that bring about more privatisation, more jobs are lost'. The facilitators talked about issues such as gross domestic product, economic growth rate and neoliberalism. Each workshop was followed by recapitulation because new participants continued to join the workshops.

The second half of day three was used for group work and presentations in which the 'participants' played the role of 'facilitators'. The participants were given one hour to work together in groups and prepare how to present the R2W campaign to various organisations. For example, one group presented the R2W campaign to a church organisation. In that case the rest of the participants played the role of that particular organisation whereby they enacted their interpretation of the role of the church. The R2W participants communicated the message of the R2W campaign to civil society organisations in a non-sectarian manner. The participants reported to the rest of the R2W participants and debated issues related to unemployment with the rest of the groups. Whilst doing the group work presentations, all the participants who presented kept the rest of the participants engaged and interested by asking rhetorical questions that related to their own lives. For example, one of the participants rhetorically asked: 'Is it true that unemployment is decreasing in our country?' He said: 'We went from house to house and did a survey in our area and we found that unemployment and poverty is growing'. All the other participants nodded and confirmed this sentiment by adding their own experiences of increasing unemployment in their community. One of the participants said: 'In my family we are five siblings and only one of my brothers has a job. He has to pay for all of us'.

Another AIDC participant prepared a presentation on the R2W campaign for COSATU and its affiliates. He explained:

> The R2W is important because unemployment in worsening in South Africa today. Women's oppression is worsened by unemployment. The *shebeens* are full of unemployed people and this leads to more women's abuse and even less money for the family. The shebeen owner becomes rich. It is also difficult for an employed person to come home to a family of twelve unemployed members who all expect money and food.

He constantly referred to places that were familiar to the participants such as the townships and the shebeens. Whilst he was talking the participants constantly nodded their heads. . It was clear that the participants' became active when the issues were directly related to their lives as opposed to abstract theory and decontextualised arguments. The fourth day, however, was devoted to wrapping up the training. The facilitators were also committed to planning action and follow-up. Here, the various provinces would present their strategic plans. This included 'local campaign activity reports' and 'campaign strategy and plans'. At the end of the day participants went through finances and administration.

4.3 Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)

COSATU sets out its mission as follows:

> We have programmes to develop worker leadership, especially women, within the trade unions and the country as a whole. Through training we have been able to build and empower ordinary workers. We try to develop the skills and abilities of those most disadvantaged by apartheid. We want workers to be equipped to determine their own future in the country and in the economy. In a country where women have been highly oppressed, we are determined to strive for gender equality and women leadership (COSATU, 2006).

At the time, COSATU represented more than two million workers, of whom at least 1.8 million were paid up. COSATU's main broad strategic objectives have always been to improve material conditions of its members and of the working people as a whole, to organise the unorganised, and to ensure worker participation in the struggle for peace and democracy. The congress describes itself as 'committed to a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa', based on the following core principles: non-racialism; worker control; one industry, one union - one country, one federation; international worker solidarity; political policy; socio-economic policy (COSATU, 2006).

Since its initiation in 1985 COSATU has fought for 'democracy and workers' rights'. COSATU is a partner in the Tripartite Alliance together with the ANC and the SACP (COSATU, 2006).

4.3.1 Organisational structure

COSATU states that

> Based on the principle of worker control, the COSATU leadership is drawn from the shopfloor. While the General Secretary and Deputy General Secretary are full time officials of the federation, the worker leaders are full time shopstewards (COSATU, 2006).

Hence, COSATU leadership is democratically elected.

4.3.2 Campaigns

COSATU has both initiated and been involved in numerous campaigns over the years, such as the Living Wage Campaign, 'May Day is Ours' and Basic Conditions of Employment Act (COSATU, 2006). Most campaigns have addressed predominantly workers' issues; however, they also engage with matters affecting citizens more generally, such as Value Added Tax (VAT) and 'Jubilee 2000'. The backbones of these campaigns are collective action and education. COSATU has fought for workers' rights as citizens in a variety of ways.

4.3.3 Education and training in COSATU

Cooper (2005b) has offered a brief historical overview of education and training in COSATU from 1980 to 2006 that illustrates how there has been a general shift from Lifelong education to Lifelong learning, with far more emphasis on skills and certification tied to working life than everyday life and wellbeing. In addition, it is clear that in the past COSATU provided much more non-formal education than it does now. Reflecting on his past experiences as a shop steward educator in COSATU, Marlon (50) still considers deliberate education important. He told me that,

> In the past we were able to provide mass low cost training, whether it was in the form of meetings … campaigns, siyalala's... A siyalala is basically where a group of shop stewards in a local area... get together at night, and sleep over ... so instead of sleeping we would be discussing and talking about politics and engaging another around issues of the day, nê? That has in the past been a way that we have been successful in discussing the heavy stuff and the difficult things (Interview, 16 March 2006, COSATU).

Marlon noted that there has been a move away from this tradition since the 1980s and 1990s, commenting that,

> I get the impression that many of us have been accustomed to having training... in surroundings that are conducive. It's fine if you have got the money ... but if you don't have the money it doesn't mean that you shouldn't be doing anything. So that's my starting point that if there isn't any finances we must find ways of dealing with the question of education and training and so on (Interview, 16 March 2006, COSATU).

Similarly, reflecting on her own shop steward training in the past, Sherrie (40), a COSATU organiser and participant at the COSATU shop steward training course, told me that,

We went through basic shop steward training; what the union is, what we require as workers from the union, the responsibility of the union, the response of the shop steward, workers rights, how do we behave around dismissals, the Act around the basic conditions ... and the LRA (Labour Relations Act), when the amendments come in to play. Had we understood what the amendments meant to us, how it advantaged us as shop stewards, [then] it was our responsibility to tell other workers about it (Interview, 22 February 2006, COSATU).

These comments support Coopers suggestion above that the training has moved away from broad-based political education to more applied skills needed for union work.

COSATU education and training in the Western Cape today
COSATU provides education and training at local and provincial level in two ways: firstly, through publications, and secondly through training which often is sector-specific. Publications are an important source of education and training. COSATU's Communications Department produces several publications, which are available online. The main publication for COSATU members is *The Shopsteward*, which is distributed in hard copy format. Some of the following documents on the Policy webpage are available as printed publications: *The Shopsteward, COSATU Weekly* and *Parliamentary Bulletin* (COSATU, 2006).

4.3.4 COSATU shop steward training

My research included a pilot training programme provided by individuals within COSATU and offered to shop stewards in trade unions affiliated to COSATU in the Western Cape Province. Currently, the training is the only non-formal course available and it receives no funding from COSATU. This training is an initiative to conscientise and develop strong shop stewards. It teaches the skills necessary to act as shop stewards, but it also encourages political action and teaches participants about wider global political and economic issues.

4.3.4.1 Syllabus

There are two parts to the shop stewards training: 'Basic Shopsteward Training' and 'Political Education'. Much of the training is provided by outside agencies and individuals and, where appropriate, I have indicated the agency in brackets.

Firstly, the basic shop steward training targets issues such as

Labour - 'Commission for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration' (CCMA) (CCMA), and 'Occupational, Environmental Health and Safety' (Industrial Health Research Group (IHRG))

Health - 'Substance abuse' (The South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependency (SANCA) (Western Cape)), and 'World Aids Day' (Activists from the 'Gender based violence and 16 days `of activism campaign)

Campaigns - 'Proudly South African Campaign' (Proudly South Africa Campaign)

Secondly, political education addresses issues such as

Economy - 'Political economy (basic)' (Development Institute for Training, Support and Education for Labour (Ditsela))

Gender - 'Gender Based Violence (GBV) Against Women and Children – Sixteen Days of Activism' (COSATU)

4.3.5 An outline of a sample COSATU workshop

The COSATU facilitators addressed the workers primarily as citizens and not only as shop stewards. This was the case in all the workshops because the facilitators addressed issues such as substance abuse and domestic violence that tackled problems in the participants' communities. The facilitators always emphasised the importance of taking the information back to the workplaces, communities and homes. COSATU is committed to empowering ordinary workers through the development of skills and abilities of those most disadvantaged by apartheid.

4.3.5.1 Logistics of the workshops

The workshops took place at the COSATU offices in Salt River, a semi-industrial area. The workshops generally happened on two Thursdays a month from 9 o'clock to 4 o'clock. The participants usually participated in the workshops for one year. There were about 30 attendees each time, from the various trade unions that are affiliated to COSATU in the Western Cape Province. The participants would attend a few training events each year, depending on their workplaces. For instance, Candice, one of the shop stewards at the COSATU training event, noted that 'Every month we get a day ... and then we have to use those days for training and our company gives us paid leave to go to COSATU in order to assist with these issues at work'. Furthermore, she stated that 'the CWU' (Communication Workers Union) has an agreement with Telkom where they have to inform their employees about the shop steward workshops.

The participants started the training at different times and were therefore at different levels. The facilitators addressed a new topic each time, and sometimes a follow-up course was offered if the topic was popular and the participants wanted an in-depth comprehension of the subject. The process of learning was scaffolded by the COSATU facilitators and supported by fellow shop stewards, especially by those that attended most of the workshops. The participants had to report back to their branch when they returned to work. The participants were always provided with the relevant course outlines and course readings. Photocopies were made for future reference so that the shop stewards could use them when preparing for the report backs to fellow trade union members in their workplaces. Additionally, there were always extra documents in the waiting room for COSATU members and visitors to read, including the latest copies of *The Shopsteward* and *NUMSA News*, along with leaflets on HIV / Aids, prevention and treatment.

4.3.5.1.1 Atmosphere

In COSATU's provincial office in the Salt River industrial area the walls were decorated with posters for May Day and for upcoming marches and events. A banner stating: 'An injury to one – is an injury to all' was covering the main wall. The atmosphere was relaxed. The shop stewards were talking amongst themselves about work, last week's training topic, family life or last weekend's parties. I felt welcome and was always invited to engage in conversations.

4.3.5.1.2 Content

Based on the format of the South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependency (SANCA) Western Cape workshop on 'Substance abuse' (10 November 2005), designed by SANCA and brought to the COSATU workshop by a SANCA facilitator, the following section attempts to give a broad outline of a typical shop steward workshop. The course manual that provided the outline of the workshop as well as the necessary readings was entitled 'Substance Abuse and Dependency in the Workplace, A training course on aspects of intervention and prevention by The South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependency', produced by SANCA Western Cape.

One of the first things the SANCA Western Cape facilitator did was to put substance abuse into an historical context, commenting that, 'In a South African context drugs were historically used by the apartheid regime to suppress the struggle and the opposition'. He said that substance abuse is a 'legacy of the past', particularly problematic in the Western Cape Province , and that the apartheid government deliberately had 'placed narcotics', such as Mandrax, in the townships of South Africa to 'dampen' activism and 'prevent' uprising from taking place (Journal, COSATU, 10

November 2005, Salt River). Meanwhile, in the apartheid era, and even some places today, the 'dop [drink] system' (a system that allowed farmers to pay farm workers in alcohol instead of wages) was openly used (Journal, COSATU, 10 November 2005, Salt River). This history even tainted farm workers' personal names; there are people with names like 'Chardonnay' and 'Sauvignon'. COSATU shop stewards have to deal with alcoholism in their workplaces and communities as well as within their own families. Alcoholism breeds poverty, unemployment, violence, abuse and disease. Socio-economic circumstances make women and children particularly vulnerable to abuse and disease.

The facilitator made a presentation about the physical, mental and social effects of alcohol and narcotics in the different stages of intoxication. He related the issue of substance dependency to general rules and regulations regarding substance abuse at a workplace and to the community and the family, building on his own experiences as a child growing up with a father with alcohol addiction. These were the questions to which the session was seeking answers:

How does alcohol work in your body?

What are the rules about drinking (being drunk) at your workplace?

How does one recognize addiction (the difference between substance use and substance abuse)?

How can you assist other people with problems of substance abuse in your workplace and in your community?

After the presentation there was group work in which the participants had to apply the information. The task of the group work was well formulated and the facilitators walked around the room and assisted the participants when necessary. Overall, the teaching methods used were short presentations (10 minutes), discussions (10 minutes), group work (30 minutes) and group presentations (5 minutes per group) and role play (45 minutes). During the presentations 20 out of 30 participants took notes. 21 participants out of 30 spoke up. This indicates that the participants thought the topic was interesting and relevant. Initiating a plenary discussion the facilitator asked: 'do you have experiences with alcohol or drug abuse in your area?' One of the participants replied: 'My neighbour is a drug addict and I help him when he is trying to come clean. He has tried several times but he is hooked on *tik*'. Some of the other participants added similar experiences of substance abuse in their community.

There was a lunch break from 13:00 to 14:00, followed by a discussion on how one could assist colleagues, friends and family with substance abuse. This discussion was followed by a practical session using role play. The participants were divided into groups and given the following tasks: How would you deal with a worker in your workplace who is abusing alcohol or narcotics? How

would you deal with a friend who is abusing alcohol or narcotics? How would you deal with a family member who is abusing alcohol or narcotics? Participants offered concrete practical suggestions within their means and thus opened up possibilities for real post-workshop action. This meant that the participants' became active when the topics were directly related to their own experiences.

4.4 The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC)

> We don't want women to know only how to make pap, but we want her to learn about globalisation too (Zackie Achmat cited in Endresen, 2004a, p. 1).

Together with unemployment and poverty, the issue of HIV/Aids is one of the most pressing socio-political matters in South Africa. Launched on 10 December 1998, International Human Rights Day, the TAC embarked on a campaign for the demand of 'treatment for all'.

The TAC's main objectives are:
> campaigning for equitable access to affordable treatment for all people with HIV/Aids
> campaigning for and supporting the prevention and elimination of all new HIV infections
> campaigning for access to affordable and quality health care for all people in South Africa
> promoting and sponsoring legislation to ensure equal access to social services for and equal treatment of all people with HIV / Aids
> training and developing a representative and effective leadership of people living with HIV/Aids on the basis of equality and non-discrimination irrespective of race, gender, sexual orientation, disability, religion, sex, socio-economic status, nationality, marital status or any other ground
> campaigning for an effective regional and global network comprising of organisations with similar aims and objectives (TAC, 2006).

The TAC constantly emphasises citizens' democratic rights believing that 'the government has a constitutional duty to act and take effective measures against this epidemic' because it must 'respect, protect, promote and fulfill' all people's rights to equality, dignity and life (TAC, 2003).

This suggests that educating people about their democratic rights is an integral aspect of the TAC's campaign. In the TAC, individual and personal infection is considered more than a private misfortune or a result of personal choice or action. The disease is recognised as a public issue: while it must be addressed individually in terms of particular symptoms of ill health, it must be dealt with as a public issue that affects us all, socially, economically and politically (Endresen, 2004a). HIV/Aids is an issue related to human rights.

National and international media attention has focused on HIV/Aids. The TAC was started by Zackie Achmat and Mark Heywood with the support of other organisations. Both have a political history and a background as political activists in the South African liberation struggle. Achmat (2002) says that HIV/Aids affects everybody in South Africa – all races, all social classes – but emphasises that the poor are the ones that suffer the most whilst the rich can 'buy life' because they have access to treatment (Endresen, 2004a). As part of developing the campaign, Zackie Achmat refused to take Antiretroviral Treatment (ART) until it was made available for all people living with HIV/Aids in need of treatment. By putting his own life on the line to highlight the need for a national treatment plan he became the public face of the struggle for ART. In 2003 he became ill with opportunistic infections and TAC comrades and others urged him to start ART. After lobbying and pressure from the TAC, the commitment to a treatment plan was announced on 19 November 2003. The government announced that ART will be available in every health district within a year and every local municipality within five years (Mail & Guardian, 2003). After this significant shift in government policy, the TAC has transformed itself into a 'People's health movement' fighting for a better public health service for all.

In the process the TAC has mobilised tens of thousands of people nationally and internationally. It can be characterised as the first national 'post-apartheid' social movement. The TAC has members and supporters from various backgrounds such as churches, Islamic movements, trade unions, CBOs, national and international NGOs, pop artists and individuals. The vast majority of TAC activists are unemployed women and men between 20 and 40 years of age.

4.4.1 Organisational structure

The daily decisions of TAC are directed by a four-person secretariat, which is a subset of the TAC National Executive Committee (NEC) (TAC Annual Report, 2004/2005, p. 3). The NEC is responsible for strategic decisions of the organisation. The TAC held its first National Congress in 2001 and since then there has been a National Congress every second year. Broadly, the TAC has a hierarchical structure. Each province and each branch has its own elected leadership but these have to report to the top leadership.

4.4.2 Education and training in TAC

Like the other two organisations TAC does education in two ways. Firstly, education in TAC happens through publications. There is plenty of literature available on the TAC's website. Literature in the form of pamphlets is handed out at workshops and demonstrations and other public meetings. At the TAC National Congress each participant receives the TAC Annual Report, which is also distributed in the branches. TAC News Letters are distributed at TAC gatherings. Secondly, education happens through direct education. As the quote from Achmat (cited in Endresen, 2004a, p. 1) above suggests, educating activists as part of its campaign is very important in order to sustain the organisation, also because many of the leading members are dying. The TAC runs numerous workshops on HIV/Aids, prevention and treatment. This training takes place both at a national level and all the way down to branch level.

The TAC's public education campaign was centred principally on the partnership between TAC and the Community Health Media Trust (CHMT), which developed the fourth 'Beat-It!' series, a treatment-literacy magazine programme on SABC Channel 1 presented by people living with HIV. The material has been turned into a treatment-literacy series that is used by the Treatment Literacy Practitioners in their work in the districts. The CHMT developed a film on the TAC's districts offices which is used to help new district offices develop. The Treatment Literacy programme has produced and widely distributed the HIV in Our Lives booklet, along with 'Opportunistic Infection' posters and a brochure called 'Talking about Antiretrovirals' (TAC Annual report 2004/2005, p. 11).

Yet not everybody has access to computers or media, and many TAC members are illiterate. Song and dance have always been used in African culture and particularly South African political culture. From the songs of the slaves to the songs of the South African liberation struggle, people developed new and different types of 'cultural' formations. New songs and dances evolved in the *shebeens* and the factories as songs of resistance. This helped express the pain and the anger of the oppressed. Historically, through liberation and other struggles happiness and pain was

turned into song. Information about HIV/Aids, treatment and prevention is spread through workshops, videos, visuals, street theatre and songs. The TAC has a choir called 'the Generics' that sings songs about living openly with HIV/Aids (Endresen, 2004a).

The focus of my research is on the TAC Leadership School.

4.4.3 The TAC Leadership School

The Leadership School aims to

> … educate and inform TAC members of the local, national and international decision makers that influence specific policies. The purpose of the Leadership School is also to empower attendees with the knowledge to further train and educate other TAC members. The School aims to be a long-term project that can be expanded across the provinces of South Africa and increase awareness of such topics (The Leadership School Pamphlet, 2006, p. 1).

The TAC Leadership School literature says that many TAC members understand health issues but insists that the TAC needs a membership that also 'understands political, economic and social issues thoroughly' (The TAC Leadership School, 2006, p. 1). The training aims to establish 'a second layer leadership that can take the organization to new levels, a leadership that can link the above-mentioned issues to the centrality of HIV/Aids in their struggle' (The TAC Leadership school: A discussion document, 2006, p. 1). It was suggested that this should be done through the use of documentary films, readings and discussions. After the pilot phase was over the programme ran across the Western Cape in the first quarter, after which it was supposed to be introduced in other provinces according to demand (this did not happen but I will elaborate on this later) (Leadership Development Programme, 2006, p. 1).

4.4.3.1 Curriculum

The main objective of the Leadership School was to develop a new leadership in TAC. For this purpose the facilitators thought it important to facilitate discussions on relevant issues facing South Africans such as health, politics, economics and the constitution. The Leadership School thought it important to enhance the participants understanding of how they as activists in civil society can learn to question, challenge and change existing policies (Leadership School Overview, 2006, p. 1).

The syllabus is very ambitious and goes far beyond issues of health to include how policies are developed and democratic states are run. The following topics are part of the programme:

- *Gender:* Discuss the issue of gender inequality and how it can be overcome. Develop understanding of how to promote gender equality in society e.g. promoting females in leadership roles.

- *National Politics:* Understand South African politics, pre- and post-1994. Introduce the idea of governance and how democratic states are run. Also help to understand how policies are made and by whom.

- *Civil Society:* Develop an understanding of how CSOs can play a role in setting national policies e.g. role of TAC and HIV/Aids policies.

- *International Institutions*: Explain what international institutions are and how they influence the lives of people in South Africa. Introduce issues such as TRIPS (Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights) agreement, poverty, trade justice, debt relief. Provide overview of globalisation and its role in modern day South African society.

- *Economic Literacy*: Introduction to basic economics pre- and post-1994. Provide a link to health and economics and understanding of how economics fits in with the health system of South Africa.

- *Health Policy*: Develop an understanding of how health systems are established and what the system is in South Africa. Use comparisons with other countries to show best method of health care systems. Provoke discussion on what would be best for South Africa and its citizens. Develop a health policy literacy so policies can be questioned by the people. Establish a way to financing health care i.e. taxation.

- *HIV/Aids*: Understanding of the political economy of HIV/Aids

- *Campaigning skills*: A monthly session should be dedicated to 'developing a specific set of skills' (Leadership School Overview, 2006, p. 1). Include the following topics: analytical reading; campaign logistics; public speaking; teaching.

As part of 'problem solving' there were ongoing assignments for each participant. The person or group was expected to 'identify a problem' whether 'in or outside their local community' and 'find a solution for it' using the material and skills they had learnt throughout the course (Leadership School Overview, 2006, p.1). Yet, only four of these intended workshops that I outlined above actually happened due to problems that I will discuss later.

4.4.3.2 An outline of a sample TAC Leadership School (LTC)

Logistics of the workshops

TAC's provincial office is in Community House, in the Salt River industrial area. Inside, the walls are decorated with TAC posters, and posters with information about HIV/Aids, prevention and treatment, as well as forthcoming marches and events. The training event took place next door to the TAC offices. On a Saturday from 09:00 until 16:00 approximately thirty participants from the various branches in and around Cape Town attended these workshops.

4.4.3.2.1 Content

In the following paragraph I will give an example of a regular 1 day TAC Leadership School workshop about 'Political Economy' presented by Matthew from the AIDC (08 July 2005, Salt River). I decided on this one because the TAC leadership outline emphasised the need for political economy, and several of the participants referred to this workshop when I conducted interviews. TAC facilitator Lindile was also present.

The initial atmosphere of the event was relaxed, with songs and discussions. A banner with the message: 'Two pills a day – save lives' decorated the main wall. After the facilitator had welcomed everybody and the participants had introduced one another they went to make their own cups of tea and coffee. A lot of topics were to be covered, namely: What is globalisation?; What is the G8?; What is the role of the World Bank and the IMF?; What is the impact of the World Bank and the IMF on South Africa (and local communities such as for instance Gugulethu)?; Why are some people rich whilst many people are poor?; Why is political economy so important? Following the initial session in which there were many interactions from the floor and several heated discussions on 'gender' and 'sexuality', the facilitator then asked the participants to 'brainstorm' and 'identify' the key 'problems in South Africa today'. They identified the following issues: HIV/Aids; Health; Unemployment; Poverty; Substance abuse; Crime; Gender inequality; Prostitution and Transactional sex.

Next, they were asked to do group work (30 minutes) around the abovementioned issues to 'understand' how the issues 'relate to each other'. After this there was a break for lunch. A simple lunch was served and the facilitator noted the importance of a balanced diet for a healthy immune system. Next, participants saw a film on the World Economic Forum in Switzerland: 'Debt and Globalisation' by Ben Cashdan (45 minutes). In a discussion session after the film (20

minutes), the facilitator asked questions about what 'globalisation' might look like in Gugulethu or how HIV/Aids relate to 'unemployment' and 'poverty'. One of the participants said:

> In Gugs [Gugulethu] globalisation means that people are poorer because we are unemployed ... neoliberal policies such as GEAR that are influenced by the globalisation means less jobs … and also that existing jobs are going to China because labour is cheaper there ... then in South Africa.

The teaching methods used were presentations (10-20 minutes), group work, group presentations (10 minutes per group) and films (15-45 minutes). There was sufficient time allocated to discussion in the plan, but the inputs were sometimes too long. The event concluded with a general round up of what had been covered in the day. First, the facilitator started summarising and then he asked the participants what they thought were the most interesting part of the workshop. It was a long intense day, packed with things to do. They covered all the topics, and the participants reported that they were 'tired' but that they had nevertheless 'enjoyed it'.

4.5 Introducing the Facilitators

The three organisations intended to develop a new layer of leadership that was active and able to think critically. In chapter 5 I will answer whether the three organisations succeeded in developing active and critically thinking citizens. In order to do this, I wanted to find out if this objective was also shared by the facilitators. To better understand the facilitators, we need to consider the motivations, convictions and agency behind their actions. Knowing something of their personal histories – where they are coming from – will help us to understand who they are. I will let the facilitators describe their position and explain their responsibilities within the organisations. Then I will let the facilitators explain their purpose and motivation behind the education, as well as the means to do so, and limitations.

4.5.1 Alternative Information and Development Centre

Originally from Durban, the facilitator Xolani (40) identified himself as a 'poor kid' who did not finish Matric. He was 'quite unhappy' as he 'wanted to study'. He got involved in the struggle against apartheid, pursued politics, and joined the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), which had a big 'impact' on him. A former 'struggle' activist and educator working in trade unions, Xolani was still committed to education and activism. He was involved in community struggles around the privatisation of water and electricity in Cape Town, and in Jubilee South and AIDC in

1998. Xolani was employed by AIDC in 2004. Since then, he has worked full time for the AIDC with a focus on the R2W campaign.

Reflecting on his previous struggles, Xolani noted that while there was 'little training' and 'more meetings' he had attended 'secret study groups in people's houses' where they 'would read Marx [and] Lenin'. Xolani saw himself as having various identities. He defined himself as 'educator', 'activist', 'facilitator', as well as someone who 'plan[ned] the programme' in R2W. Xolani also saw himself as a 'socialist', with no 'illusions' about 'the new government' but insisted that he would continue to 'work towards' a 'better world' (Interview, 18 February 2006, AIDC).

4.5.2 Congress of South African Trade Unions

The COSATU shop steward training was run on a voluntary basis by the Western Cape COSATU education officer. With a lifelong history in shop steward training, as I indicated previously, Marlon (50) was the course designer, organiser and facilitator. COSATU also used other guest facilitators from service providers that they had a relationship with. All the facilitators identified and defined themselves as 'facilitators', 'educators' and 'activists'. Similarly, Marlon defined himself as an 'educator' (Interview, 16 March 2006, COSATU).

4.5.3 Treatment Action Campaign

Like the COSATU training, the TAC training was partly facilitated by different service providers. However, I interviewed Lindile (40) because he was the course designer, organiser and facilitator. Highlighting the importance of education, he related his story as follows:

> I was first introduced to politics in the eighties ... first Black Consciousness, AZAPO ... so I started to read [Steve] Biko ... Frantz Fanon... Ja I became politically aware. We started to discuss the Freedom Charter... You know we have 'Coloured' townships and 'Black' townships and so we tried to recruit 'Coloureds' to the struggle to show them that we are one... We used to have these discussions ... we were introduced to Marx ... the meetings that made me realise that informal education is the best form of transmitting knowledge ... so when the ANC was unbanned we used these strategies to popularise our movements... I read the [Communist] Manifesto and the following week I had to present on what I had understood and then comments will come from comrades and people would get involved … (Interview, 23 March 2006, TAC).

Lindile reflected on his journey from discovering his HIV positive status to becoming an educator in the TAC. Lindile told me about his life as a politically active HIV positive person. Loaded with 'guilt', he told me that

> I became very angry at the new government because to me it felt like it was not delivering at all what it had been promising ... after that I had to stay without work and I started drinking ... in a small township you have status if you have a degree so ... I was a skirt thief... I was ignorant of HIV... I started develop shingles and I went to a doctor and asked 'why am I having this?'... So I tested ... and then he told me that I had HIV... This was in 2000 and I doubled my drinking and doubled having many women and I am so sorry. I don't know how can I forgive myself because I was of this belief that I am not going to die alone... Then in 2002, I disclosed to a friend of mine ... that I only have 3 more years to live... I knew nothing about drugs then ... he knew about these guys that liked wearing HIV positive t-shirts ... this was early 2001... I went to see them [TAC] (Interview, 23 March 2006, TAC).

Consequently, Lindile became an active member of the TAC and both initiated and facilitated the training. Lindile saw himself as an 'educator' and 'activist' but also as 'HIV positive'. He experienced discrimination as a HIV positive person. He stated that 'the most painful part was when my sisters discriminated against me, I could not peel potatoes, I could not cook, I used something, [and then they would say] 'no ... leave that' (Interview, 23 March 2006, TAC).

4.6 Purposes of Programmes

If I suggested that education is a deliberate, planned undertaking founded on particular values and intentions, I had to uncover the motivation for doing this work. Having outlined the intention of the organisations I then asked myself: Why did the facilitators and participants get involved in the education? In most cases, facilitators and workshop designers were the same person and therefore, discovering their political histories and experiences with activism generated a useful indication as to the motive for offering this particular education. Furthermore, bearing in mind that the three organisations worked together on various issues, one would sometimes encounter the same facilitator running workshops for different organisations. For example, Matthew from AIDC did most of the political economy workshops in AIDC and TAC.[64] He also did some of the political

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[64] Matthew (40) had a lifelong history of activism and was involved in the antiwar movement, social global justice movement as well as various struggles around basic service delivery in South Africa.

economy workshops in COSATU. That the three organisations were part of the Western Cape coalition is an indicator that the three organisations wanted to encourage a particular political standpoint through their education.

4.6.1 Making connections between private or individual issues

All the facilitators spoke about the social ills of poverty and unemployment such as diseases, domestic violence, substance abuse, and a lack of food, housing and schooling. Broadly, they all viewed these problems as symptomatic of the system rather than individual pathologies. For example, Matthew explained 'Unemployment is not just an individual problem, it's a public problem' that 'eats away on our community' (Journal, TAC, 8 July 2005, Salt River). Similarly, Marlon saw 'substance abuse' as a major concern in the various workplaces and not just an individual problem: 'substance abuse is a big concern in our communities – we want to give people the tools to do something about the problems they are facing' (Interview, 16 March 2006). Lindile in TAC explained that it is 'important' to 'fuse the different struggles' such as 'crime', 'HIV/Aids' and 'domestic violence'. He added: 'all roads lead to unemployment'. Explaining how HIV is social, political and economical, he said: 'HIV is social... it's economic, you can't separate it' (Journal, TAC, 02 September 2005, TAC). Given that all the facilitators viewed social ills as public issues, they saw flaws in 'the system' itself, although their views on the root of the problem differed. Therefore, they wanted to change the system rather than individuals.

4.6.2 Changing the system'

Xolani stated 'We want activists to understand why things are the way they are' because 'we want to change society' (Interview, 18 February 2006). Marlon emphasised the importance of teaching economic symptoms of capitalism such as 'globalisation' and 'neoliberalism' with a 'political angle' (Interview, 16 March 2006). Matthew suggested that the social aspect of unemployment and poverty breeds racism and xenophobia. Referring to what a French activist had said [on television], he explained that 'neoliberalism' makes the economy 'more flexible' and that it 'plays the working class against each other' and makes European people 'more racist in terms of immigration'. He noted that the apartheid government used the 'split and divide' tactic to 'prevent the opposition to unite' (Journal, TAC, 8 July 2005, Salt River). He lamented the fact that in Umlazi [township in Durban] there are bricklayers out of work while there are people without houses around the corner. These two parts, he said, must come together. Therefore, the government ought to 'fund public works programmes', 'build houses for people and clinics', 'tax the rich' and fund 'public services' (Journal, AIDC, 28-30 November 2005, Bloubergstrand).

Searching for alternative economic strategies, the R2W analysed and critiqued the governments' Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). John highlighted that with the government's reluctance to funding the EPWP, they were 'encouraged to employ BEE [Black Economic Empowerment] companies'.[65] Subsequently, he noted that the state is 'writing off' its responsibilities with its increasing reliance on the private sector (Journal, AIDC, January 30-February 1 2006, Bloubergstrand).

Given the above, all the facilitators had the overall aim of building a movement to affect change. Changing the system required building a campaign. Whilst Lindile said that the TAC wanted to 'build a people's health movement', John commented:

> What we are building is a movement for those people who have been walked all over... Those people that are living in mansions do so because those others live in shacks. The unemployed don't have a movement ... because unemployment and worries take away their last ability to do so .... we want to do something about it. Most of us are not only concerned about unemployment but because we care about politics (Journal, AIDC, January 30- February 1 2006, Bloubergstrand).

4.6.3 Developing a 'new layer' of leadership

A campaign would need a 'new layer of leadership. Marlon explained that the COSATU workshops were like a 'crash course' for 'newer shop stewards' (Interview, 16 March 2006). Marlon noted that the 'shop stewards' ought to 'know their rights' and also 'how to make use of them' (Journal, COSATU, 20 April 2006, COSATU). Acknowledging that he might 'offend' his leadership, Lindile (TAC) protested that in an organisation of plus or minus 16 000 it was 'not right' that it is 'led' by a few 'Whites' and so-called 'Coloureds' (Interview, 23 March 2006). Although this is not the topic of my thesis this indicates that some of the TAC members were dissatisfied with democracy within the TAC.

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[65] John (43) had a lifelong history of activism and was involved in the struggle against apartheid, as well as various post apartheid social formations such as Youth for Work, and campaigns such as Jubilee South. In May 2005, John was the managing director of the AIDC. Towards the end of my research a new director was appointed in his place. Not long after that, yet another director was put in his place.

In building a 'broader leadership', Lindile said the TAC needed a 'cadre' and 'intellectuals in the form of Gramsci' that must 'come up' from the 'bottom'. As a strategic part of building a movement, Lindile wanted to 'encourage a culture of reading', people reading 'newspapers', rather than 'just intellectuals who read big books'. Lindile thought it important to build 'grassroots intellectuals' that can take collective action (Interview, 23 March 2006). To Xolani, a strong leadership ought to be 'activist' orientated and 'reflective' (Interview, 18 February 2006, AIDC). Matthew emphasised the importance of developing 'grassroots intellectuals' who can 'help shape' the campaign (Journal, AIDC, 27 September 2005, Melkbosstrand).

4.6.4 Developing women leadership

A new leadership would require a greater number of women in the forefront. The facilitator from Development Institute for Training, Support and Education for Labour (Ditsela) noted that there were 'inequality issues' around 'women' that needed to be addressed. Similarly, Lindile suggested that the focus ought to be on 'people living with HIV' and 'particularly women' (Interview, 23 March 2006), and Matthew called for 'more women' in the R2W forums. Building on the success of the 'women's school' in September 2005, he wanted to run 'two schools a year for women' (Journal, AIDC, 28-30 November 2005, Bloubergstrand).

The overall aim for the three organisations was to develop political consciousness and affect economic, political and social transformation. Primarily, the facilitators aim was not to change people. Their broader aim was to 'change the world' and 'change the system' whether it meant through 'reforms' or the abolishing of 'capitalism' overall. They aimed to build a campaign, and a new leadership that would involve more women in their organisations. This would require strategic learning, developing unity, improving on communication skills to 'pass on the message' to other activists or people in their community or workplace, creating a culture of reading and reflective thinking, and encouraging participation.

What did the facilitators see as the attitudes, skills and strategies necessary to build a new leadership with active and critically thinking leaders?

4.7 Strategies of Programmes

This part will explain what the facilitators regarded as important to the facilitation process. Here, facilitators outline some of the attitudes and skills necessary to develop an active and critically thinking new leadership. Strategic education strategies include communication skills like passing on the message and building unity amongst fellow activists and between movements. All the

facilitators in the three organisations argued for unity and outlined a number of important behaviours and attitudes, namely: listening skills, empathy, tolerance, reading and reflection. They also explained how they viewed participants as 'organic intellectuals' who had much to contribute to the education process.

4.7.1 Building relationships

To achieve their purpose of social change, they undertook to offer political education. In COSATU and AIDC the facilitators characterised the training as 'popular education' or 'political education'. John emphasised that 'popular education... is not about leaders or followers' (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand). Similarly, Marlon insisted there were 'no experts'. Rather, the training was about 'sharing experiences': as he added, 'each one - teach one!' (Interview, 16 March 2006). Marlon insisted that 'we are here to learn from each other' and that this is the 'kind of comradeship' that they are trying to install in any workshop' (Interview, 16 March 2006, COSATU). Lindile argued 'you are all learned' and 'no one owns the truth' (Journal, TAC, 19 August 2005, TAC). At the TAC training, Matthew reminded the participants that the workshop was 'the start of a journey' and that 'we don't know where it's going' but that they 'are the experts together' (Journal, TAC, 8 July 2005, Salt River). Thus, the education involved building equitable relationships and extending what was already common knowledge.

Reflecting on his own experiences, Lindile highlighted the need to 'listen', 'respect' and 'prepare' before workshops and meetings. He declared that there are no 'stupid questions', and insisted that 'illiterate' people may well 'ask you something' where you are 'not able to give guidance'. His advice was to 'be honest' and not tell people 'lies' because 'someone can come with distorted information' (Interview, 23 March 2006). Thus, a good leader is someone who treats people with respect. A good leader must also be accountable to the organisation and its participants.

Xolani explained that when meeting someone who recently had 'their water cut off' or 'lost their job' it would not be the right time to start talking about the 'evils' of 'capitalism' and referring to Marx's theory of 'the mode of production'. Xolani insisted that to make people feel 'at home in the campaign' activists ought to be aware of 'emotional' issues so that people 'must be able to cry if they feel like it' (Journal, AIDC, 28-30 November 2005, Bloubergstrand). In other words the participants were taught how to relate to people as human beings and respond to their problems appropriately rather than using 'sloganeering' and difficult political jargon.

The three organisations attempted to develop unity both between their own activists and with other movements. Since the AIDC intended to build an unemployed people's movement with support from trade unions and other social movement formations they argued for a united front

approach. Trying to install a non-sectarian attitude amongst the participants, Matthew had this to say:

> … it is not an accident that our slogan and the COSATU slogan "make unemployment and poverty history" is the same... The talk about the new UDF has caused debate in the business and government sector... We gotta build the R2W. We gotta work around the fact that some people might have the view that AIDC is ultra left or that they fell out with me two years ago... Miners wore our t-shirts on the Joburg [Johannesburg] demo. They wore them because they made sense to them. They would not have worn them if they had said "fuck the ANC" (Journal, AIDC, 28-30 November 2005, Bloubergstrand).

Lindile on the other hand, had a more sceptical view on cooperating with certain movements. His focus was on the 'unity' of HIV positive people: 'most importantly ... our focus should be people living with HIV' (Interview, 23 March 2006). He thought the TAC ought to 'disassociate' itself from 'ultra-left' organisations like the 'Anti Privatisation Forum (APF)', adding that 'many people are loyal to the ANC' and that he would not 'share platform' with the APF, suggesting they were 'chasing people away' by 'insulting' the ANC. On the note of building relationships, Matthew instructed that the R2W participants ought to do 'report backs' to the R2W branches (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand). Similarly, Marlon insisted that the COSATU participants should take the information back to the 'communities' (Journal, COSATU, 23 February 2006, Salt River).

4.7.2 Learning through dialogue

Speaking from his 'own experience' Marlon stated that he 'learn[ed] more' when he 'engage[d] with somebody else', and that this is not 'conscious learning'. In other words, participatory education is distinctly different to the 'banking education' associated with formal education. Therefore, Marlon wanted to show people that it is not necessary to 'sit in a class'. Embracing participatory education, Marlon saw it as his responsibility to engage in such education. He noted that 'popular education is participatory' and that it should 'empower the subject' (Interview, 16 March 2006). In other words, education should be informal and participatory to avoid participants being reminded of formal schooling as many of the participants had bad experiences with the old education system in particular Bantu Education.

4.7.3 Building on participants experiences

One of the TAC participants explained that the facilitators made 'examples' that she could relate to. Chantal noted 'they came down to your level... they made examples that you can relate to...

copying the movies, it's illegal, *né*?...they didn't use high vocabulary and jargons... they made the example of the TRIPS and of pirated CDs because we all have that... ' (Interview, 31 March 2006). Similarly, Gugulethu noted that the facilitators 'explained' and 'simplified' the topic. She stated

> I remember when Matthew [AIDC] was here last year... We saw a film on the World Economic Forum in Davos in Switzerland... The G8 ... he explained it and simplified it so that people could understand ... people could link up ideas, because I think it was the APF with Trevor Ngwane and the World Social Forum in I think 2002 and the global march on HIV/Aids... It opens up someone's mind you know ... "oh I've seen that on TV [television] but I didn't understand" but now you know you start to think back and you realize the importance of what it means to be a person in South Africa, a poor person in South Africa' (Interview, 18 April 2006).

In other words, an educator is someone who builds on and expands on the experience and knowledge that already exists. An educator should also help the participants make links between local and global contexts. In fact, Gugulethu told me that she was so inspired that she 'copied the style of the workshop' for TAC 'branch meetings' and they started using video cassettes as part of the workshop 'to open up' for discussion.

COSATU started each training session with 'sharing' information. Marlon noted, 'I'll not provide you with answers, we will find answers together' (Journal, COSATU, 23 February 2006, Salt River). However, Matthew reminded participants that 'the different provinces have different dynamics' therefore 'you are the experts locally we are not' (Journal, AIDC, 28-30 November 2005, Bloubergstrand). John argued that the goal for the women's school was to 'build' on learners 'experiences' so that they could 'take ownership' of the 'process' (Journal, AIDC, 27 September 2005, Melkbosstrand).

The key objective of the R2W campaign is to draw attention to the unemployment crisis by building an unemployed peoples movement and to promote job creation through alternative economic reforms. COSATU aims to strengthen the trade union movement. The key objective of TAC is to draw attention to the crisis in the public health service by building a peoples health movement. Across the organisations the facilitators aimed to change the world through progressive reforms and by getting rid of capitalism. In order to do this, facilitators across the organisations wanted to build an active leadership that could think critically.

Developing a culture of reading

To encourage 'knowledge making' and 'sharing' of knowledge the facilitators tried to install a culture of reading amongst the participants. Lindile argued that to achieve quality leadership the TAC ought to transform 'branches into places of learning rather than talk shops' and 'establish and develop a culture of reading in the organisation from branch, district up to provincial level'. This would involve a 'set of readings' that were 'not too academic' so that the 'activists' could 'read even at home' (The TAC Leadership School/Training: A Discussion document, 2006, p. 1).

Developing reflective thinking

Xolani suggested that 'a lot of people' on the left had 'lost direction' after 1994 and become 'victims of dominant ideas'. He wanted 'activists to understand the root of the problem' to 'unemployment', and suggested 'reflection' and 'critical thinking' was important components to assist such a process (Interview, 18 February 2006). Marlon wanted to develop shop stewards who were able to question issues (Interview, 16 March 2006, COSATU). Lindile said he aimed to develop 'activists' who were able to 'think independently' (Interview, 23 March 2006).

4.7.4 Developing critical awareness

How does one go about developing critical awareness? The facilitators raised contradictions and started to de-naturalise problems that are often seen as natural, such as for example inequality, poverty and unemployment. Matthew insisted, for example, that 'you must not just believe what I say because I'm a R2W facilitator. I might be wrong at times' (Journal, AIDC, January 30-February 1 2006, Bloubergstrand). Thus, asking critical questions involved awareness of 'power'. They tried to build critical awareness. Encouraging critical awareness, as one of the AIDC guest facilitators pointed out, was important because

> We don't automatically think, oh, I must go to parliament and demonstrate. We start to think like the system because of the power of ideas and the power of the ruling class. You accept the idea that your life can't change and that's the power of ideology. You produce everything that exists but you don't own anything. The boss provided the raw materials, the factory, the machines but you work it (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand).

De-naturalising problems such as poverty, unemployment and crime is another way of encouraging and creating the space for the emergence of critical thinking. As Matthew put it:

> … unemployment is not some natural disaster, it's not the Tsunami. We have to speak about GEAR the neoliberal policy... It might be good for us first but then later on they will

try and cut wages, working hours, smashing unions and so forthand so forth (Journal, AIDC, January 30- February 1 2006, Bloubergstrand).

Xolani pointed out that when 'people are affected by the system' they are 'made to feel they are the ones that are to blame'. He insisted that popular education 'tries to change this' because the learners gain 'confidence' as they are 'involved in the production of the knowledge' (Interview, 18 February 2006). In other words, popular education is a participatory process where both facilitators and participants are seen as co-producers of knowledge. Xolani encouraged critical awareness by telling the participants that their experiences and knowledge are important for the production of new knowledge. Besides this, Matthew pointed out contradictions as a useful means for generating critical input:

> … someone lives in a mansion because someone else lives in a shack (Journal, AIDC, 28-30 November 2005, Bloubergstrand).

> some people and politicians, like [former President] Mbeki, say that people are unemployed in South Africa because they "lack skills" and because they are "lazy". There is a lack of skills but this does not explain why so many people with university degrees are unable to find work (Journal, AIDC, 30 January–01 February 2006, Bloubergstrand).

In trying to encourage the participants to understand the world economy, the facilitators would try to develop critical thinking in the participants. The manner of teaching they employ is one of teaching how to analyse by asking critical questions, pointing out contradictions, presenting arguments for and against particular interpretations. However, conscientisation in the three programmes happened through dialogue, which sometimes was based on case studies and drew on personal experience. Here is an example of how one of the participants made Really Useful Knowledge by drawing on personal experience. He pointed out the contradictions in the way newspapers report on TAC activities:

> I know that sometimes the newspapers write something else than what we actually said. The media on the TAC has been positive and negative. The government calls us anti-government or counter revolutionary. The HIV positive calls us heroes and life-savers (Journal, TAC, 19 August 2005, Salt River).

From my involvement in the TAC I noted that women are often at the forefront of the demonstrations. However, Gugulethu noted that 'even in an organisation like TAC most of the

[people in] leadership roles are men' and added that it had 'to change'. She referred to a workshop in which a 'comrade' made a 'really insensitive' comment on the 'issues of gender' in the globalisation workshop, saying that woman should not 'participate' but rather 'take a back seat' (Interview, 18 April 2006). I observed that workshop and I watched Gugulethu stand up and address the male participant. She told him: 'TAC is an organisation supporting people with HIV/Aids. This is not a place where women are less respected than men. We are all equal' (Journal, 08 July 2005, TAC). This input was welcomed with cheering from most of the participants. Here Gugulethu highlighted contradictions as a way of de-normalising and making inconsistencies visible.

As part of the COSATU workshop on Occupational Health and Safety participants were asked to work in groups and gather information from their respective workplaces. The participants did an activity based on case studies presented in pictures. They were asked to relate specific pictures to their own experiences in their respective work places. In one example a participant related how 'at Cape Mail a woman had fallen out of a company bus': so who, he asked, 'was responsible for the incident?' Another participant responded that 'the shop stewards, the union representative and the management should get involved in defending the worker' (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, Salt River). Similarly, another participant described how:

> A Telkom technician had an accident with a company truck whilst driving around doing an errand for work. The company car was faulty. He ended up in the river but managed to crawl out of the car and managed to get to a rock in the middle of a river where he was sitting until someone rescued him three hours later (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, Salt River).

Again, the question was, 'Who was responsible?' One participant saw it as 'an act of God'. Another thought it could be regarded as 'natural disaster relief' because 'it happened in nature'. Another suggested that it was 'driver negligence'. But yet another insisted that 'the accident happened while the worker was at work, and so, the company was responsible and not God' (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, Salt River).

The next part will show how the facilitators went about achieving their goals. Across the three organisations the facilitators characterised the education as 'popular education' or 'political education'.

Part Two

4.8 Getting to Know the Participants

The vast majority of participants in AIDC and TAC were unemployed women and men between 20 and 40 years of age. In COSATU the participants were employed men and women between 20 and 50 years of age. Participants across the organisations had some primary and secondary education, but few had matriculated and only some TAC participants had university education. Many participants spoke about their experiences in the liberation movement and living in exile.

4.8.1 Alternative Information Development Centre

As this was a national training programme participants came from all over the country. All the participants were R2W activists, which means, they were involved in building the campaign. They were referred to as 'local campaign organisers' and all described themselves as 'activists'

Aziza (21) was an intern at the AIDC. Previously she had 'worked at the ANC Youth League office'. She 'was not satisfied' there because she felt they did not take 'young women serious' (Interview, 2 November 2005, AIDC). Like Aziza, Carlos (21) was an intern at the AIDC. Previously, he had worked for the Children's Resource Centre (CRC) for six years'. At the AIDC he would 'organise conferences, trainings and workshops' (Interview, 2 November 2005, AIDC).

Lunga (26) was a seasoned activist with experience from Anti Privatisation Forum (APF), Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC) and Youth for Work. Having participated in several of the AIDC Leadership Training Course workshops and the AIDC Youth Camps, he was familiar with the R2W campaign at the Leadership Training Course (Interview, 1 February 2006, Bloubergsstrand).

The tenth child in the family, Senzeni (40) 'got involved in politics' in the 1980s, at the 'age of 16'. Having completed Matric in 1987 he immediately left for 'Lesotho due to the struggle'. He moved back to South Africa, 'changed' his name for 'safety' reasons, and returned to University but had 'to skip the country again' (Interview, 2 February 2006 Blougergsstrand).

Simphiwe (31) described himself as one of the people at the forefront of the 'Shack Dweller's Movement at Kennedy Road' (also referred to as Abahlali baseMjondolo), also referred to as 'The Third Force' by some politicians (Rob Amato, 2005, p. 5). Through his involvement in the Shack Dweller's movement, he heard about the R2W from 'academics' and 'activists ... based at the CCS at the University of KwaZulu-Natal' (UKZN) in Durban that had links with activists such as

Matthew and Xolani at the AIDC in Cape Town (Interview, 30 November 2005, Bloubergstrand). This was Simphiwe's first R2W training event.

Sipho (26) established that even though he lived in a township, he was not 'so poor' since his mum worked 'for the government'. Like Aziza and Carlos, he was 'an intern' at AIDC, from September 2006 to December 2006. For 10 years prior to that he had worked with the CRC. In 2005 he attended the Youth Camp in Llandudno, and he 'got to know AIDC though CRC' where he was 'working with children' (Interview, 2 November 2005, AIDC).

Thando (29) was born in the Free State, after his brother was 'killed in an accident' in the 1980s, he returned to East London with his mother. At the age of eleven he left the country and started 'training as an MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC armed forces]'. Eager to 'change society', 'change ourselves', and 'make our democracy work better', he also got 'involved in student organisations'. He emphasised that he does not 'drink or smoke', so as 'to maintain respect' and be an 'example to young people'. Nor, he added, does he 'go around with women', even though he had 'status' in his 'community' (Interview, 26 March 2006, Mdantzane, Eastern Cape).

Zakes (24) worked for the TAC and was involved in the South African Communist Party (SACP) Youth League. He attended the AIDC youth camp in 2004 and 2005 and the Leadership Training Course workshop. This was his first R2W training (Interview, 29 November 2005, Bloubergstrand). Zola (26) was an activist in the SECC and the APF. This was his second R2W workshop (Interview, 29 November 2005, Bloubergstrand).

Based on this background it is clear that many of the participants had limited formal education. Yet, most of them had experiences of political education or popular education in the past and considerable experience of working with / in civic organisations.

4.8.2 Congress of South African Trade Unions

The shop stewards came from different trade unions affiliated to COSATU in the Western Cape. It is important that the reader note that they were all from the Western Cape because as I pointed out in chapter 1 the province has a specific history and context.

Candice (32) was one of two shop stewards for the Communication Workers Union (CWU). She was one of 160 workers at a 'telecommunications company' in Bellville. She was the single mother of two children (Interview, 13 April 2006, Mitchells Plain). Chardonnay (43) operated as a

shop steward for the women farm workers in Sikhula Sonke (which means "We grow together" in Xhosa) in Stellenbosch (Interview, 10 May 2006, Ritz Hotel, Sea Point).

Craig (45) was a shop steward for the CWU and had worked for Telkom in Bellville for the last nine years. Previous to that he was 'a contract' worker. He had attended the majority of the shop steward training. In Standard 6 he 'started to participate in activism at school' at a time when 'it was still illegal to join any group' such as the 'SRC' (Student Representative Council), which he was 'part of'. He studied Bachelor of Commerce at the University of Western Cape (UWC). However, the 'political struggle' at the time, made him 'aware', and he 'joined the ANC'. Today, he was not as 'active' as he should be, partly because the ANC branch where he lived was 'not so active'. He was also a member of the SACP (Interview, 17 May 2006, Bellville).

Eugene (35) was a shop steward for National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU) and worked for an Airports Company at the Cape Town Airport where he was the 'security supervisor'. He was the 'shop steward council secretary' and the 'branch secretary'. He had been a shop steward for 6-7 years. Previously, he had been a shop steward for South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU). In 2005, he became a shop steward for NEHAWU (Interview, 21 April 2006, Police station, Cape Town International Airport). Based at the COSATU provincial offices in Salt River, Nosipho (61) worked for the South African Domestic, Service and Allied Workers Union (SADSAWU). A domestic worker, Nosipho was a shop steward for the SADSAWU (Interview, 22 February 2006, COSATU).

A shop steward in SACTWU in the retail sector, Sherrie (40) was appointed as the COSATU administrator in 1997. Sherrie was also the gender coordinator for COSATU in the Western Cape Province. She attended the shop steward workshops and she also helped organise them (Interview, 22 February 2006, COSATU). Like Chardonnay, Sauvignon (60) operated as a shop steward for Sikhula Sonke (Interview, 10 May 2006, Ritz Hotel, Sea Point).

The COSATU participants had little formal education and only one of them had completed secondary schooling. Although seasoned in political and organisational campaigns none of them had previously participated in political education. Yet, all the participants were activists with useful experiences that could contribute to the production of Really Useful Knowledge.

4.8.3 Treatment Action Campaign

All the TAC participants were residents of the Western Cape, and most had not been politically involved before they joined the organisation. Apart from one, all the TAC interviewees were HIV positive.

Bongi (25) was a TAC volunteer and now an active member of the SACP (Interview, 3 May 2006, TAC). Chantal (21) was a student doing Psychology (Honours) at UCT. She had been a volunteer in the TAC since its inception. 'Ja, I have done voluntary work with them and it started out as being interested in HIV/Aids. The epidemic you know, ja, that has become weapons of mass destruction to our society' (Interview, 31 March 2006, UCT). Clinton (43) was a TAC volunteer. He had a background in 'nursing' and as a 'Christian youth leader' (Interview, 8 May 2006, TAC).

Gugulethu (32) was fully employed as the provincial coordinator for MTCT (Mother to Child Transmission) in TAC Western Cape. Originally from Queenstown, she joined TAC in 1999 having 'attended a workshop' on HIV/Aids prevention and treatment organised by 'Khayelitsha Aids Awareness Group'. She became interested to know if there was 'treatment for HIV'. She learnt 'they were not available' to most people (Interview, 18 April 2006, TAC). Originally from Uganda, Hussein (34) had been a TAC volunteer for one year. He was not involved in politics before he came to South Africa (Interview, 11 May 2006, TAC).

Mercedes (21) became involved in TAC through learning about HIV/Aids. She was a TAC volunteer and a student doing a Bachelor of Commerce at UCT (Interview, 31 March 2006, UCT). Toni (31) was the organiser for TAC Western Cape, and looked after the branches in the province. There were about 60 branches and a membership of 4000. In 2000 she was employed by an organisation called Leadership South. In 1998 she was trained by the Department of Health to become a counsellor. She became a counsellor coordinator for all the counsellors in the Mitchells Plain district. Through her support group she got involved with the TAC. In 2005, she became an 'activist' (Interview, 8 May 2006, TAC).

4.9 Why Did the Participants Come?

This part will tell the story of life experiences of how the participants came to be members of the organisations, their motivation for becoming activists and their reasons for attending the education. Chantal noted that participation 'in TAC' helped her become more 'active' and 'critical', and therefore a 'better' citizen in her opinion (Interview, 31 March 2006). Also Bongi told me that 'being active and reading' made him more active as a citizen (Interview, 3 May 2006). Thus, in their view, an activist is a citizen. Some participants were looking for something that they could identify themselves with, other wanted to find a political home, and some joined the education programmes from having experienced solidarity and empathy.

4.9.1 Identity

Participants came with different expectations ranging from personal achievement to critical thinking and enhanced action, but most of them wanted to further the struggle - their personal struggle, and that of their organisation, which for some meant the broader struggle for social justice. On the whole, their participation in the programmes was related to their identity as activists: they said that they attended the training to become better activists.

Carlos said:

> An active person is someone who is involved in what's going on in society. It could mean to vote in elections but it goes beyond this (Personal communication, 2 November 2005, AIDC).

For Bongi it meant

> … to be a South African, I'm very excited about it but I contest being an "empowered" citizen, but citizen yes. Some of us have been empowered in the past ten years. I have been able to get into different phases of life and they are all very different and interesting. I have always been a young activist. There is no justice about "development". Learning about new things and drawing lessons from past insights (Interview, 3 May 2006).

Candice thought:

> A citizen must know their rights but a citizen must also help build their community (Interview, 13 April 2006).

Aziza said:

> A citizen should be able to think critically so that they cannot be fooled by corrupt politicians (Personal communication, 2 November 2005, AIDC).

Toni thought:

> I stand up for what I believe in (Interview, 8 May 2006).

Hussein was concerned with issues of identity and he understood a citizen in terms of citizenship, something which he did not have. As a Ugandan he was a victim of citizenship and the racism that he experienced in South Africa as a foreign national. The rights that Hussein spoke about are denied him because he does not have citizenship. Across the organisations, participants had developed an activist identity and started:

> 'To fight for the R2W' (Senzeni, Interview, 2 February 2006).
>
> 'To fight for HIV positive people' (Mercedes, Interview, 31 March 2006).
>
> 'To fight as a woman' (Chardonnay, Interview, 10 May 2006).
>
> 'To fight for farm workers' (Sauvignon, Interview, 10 May 2006).

To Chantal, a citizen was someone who makes it their responsibility to get educated. She was a university student (the only one that I found in the TAC leadership programme). Chantal also said that each person should take responsibility and ensure that they get non-formal education because people should stay educated and informed. Lunga saw the fight against unemployment as part of the wider struggle against capitalism:

> I see myself as playing a role in the campaign that will emancipate the working class, not necessarily overthrow capitalism but as a process that will empower the cadres who have confidence, who have in depth knowledge of engaging with capitalism (Interview, 1 February 2006).

All the participants irrespective of their organisational home identified themselves as activists and some as socialists. Most participants had little formal education but some had experiences with political education from 'the struggle'. As noted earlier, many AIDC and TAC participants did not have formal employment. Most of them had lots of time to contribute to building the new leadership. However, when some participants were fortunate to find temporary work they would leave their full-time work in the organisation. This was problematic for the organisations because they had to put organisational work on hold.

The AIDC participants joined the R2W campaign to change their unemployed status. Thus, Simphiwe explained that the Abahlali baseMjondolo were looking for 'solidarity' with other movements, so that they would 'be stronger' and so that unemployment could no longer be 'neglected' (Interview, 30 November 2005). And Zakes pointed out that young people have 'a role to play within this country' regarding 'retrenchments' and the fact that few jobs are 'available for Africans' (Interview, 29 November 2005). Most TAC participants joined TAC because of their HIV-positive status. Being unemployed and lacking the necessary financial support to access

decent health care, they decided to build a 'people's health movement'. The COSATU participants were workers looking to improve their working conditions.

The AIDC participants were all politically involved in other CBOs and youth formations in their communities before they joined the R2W. All of them had deep experiences of unemployment: Zola had been unemployed since finishing matric, and Thando explained 'I don't have anything and I need to move on' (Interview, 26 March 2006). Having joined R2W, Sipho considered himself a 'socialist' (Interview, 1 February 2006). And Lunga said 'I am a socialist' and 'a R2W activist' (Interview, 1 February 2006). Carlos saw himself as an 'activist' (Interview, 2 November 2005). Others such as Bongi explained 'it's a secret but I belong to many movements' (Interview, 3 May 2006). Gugulethu identified herself as 'HIV positive' and an 'activist' (Interview, 18 April 2006). Nosipho identified herself as 'a volunteer' because she enjoys 'helping people', in particular 'workers' (Interview, 22 February 2006).

A shop steward in SACTWU, Sherrie told me,

> The company that I worked for was the reason behind my motivation... the underpaying of workers from such a big company was a major concern. I think that actually gave me the motivation to become a shop steward, to defend the rights of workers... being the only shop steward in the company at the time I was obviously open for victimisation (Interview, 22 February 2006).

Defining himself as an 'activist' Craig drew my attention to the socio-economic conditions in his area. He told me that 'coming from an area where poverty and unemployment is big' he always had an 'interest in why these things are the way they are' but his 'upbringing' did not 'allow' him 'to voice anything' (Interview, 17 May 2006). Eugene identified himself first and foremost as a 'shop steward' but was also the 'council secretary', the 'branch secretary' and the 'security supervisor' (Interview, 21 April 2006). Candice needed to be 'active in the union' and to 'know what's going on'. She translated her newly acquired knowledge into a status of 'being someone'; she felt good about her status as a shop steward. She explained that she 'share[d]' the information with her mother, who now introduces her as 'my daughter the shop steward' (Interview, 13 April 2006).

4.9.2 Political home

The participants had many commonalities, such as being disillusioned with the current government and looking for a political home and belonging. Their organisations are their political

homes – this means, their identities are rooted in the organisations that provide the focus and the impetus for their activities.

Having been involved in many movements, Thando, Senzeni, Simphiwe and Sipho were active already but looking for a 'political home'. Thando explained 'I don't want to work for the government' and 'I don't have a political home'. He added, 'that's why AIDC is great for people like me' (Interview, 26 March 2006). He worked for the R2W campaign and received a stipend from the AIDC. Senzeni firstly discovered 'black consciousness'. Then he became a part of 'Youth for Work' (Y4W), which he considered his 'new political home'. Having been involved in 'the union of metalworkers in Welkom', 'Jubilee South Africa' he wanted to work fulltime for R2W (Interview, 2 February 2006). Even though Gugulethu 'was aware of political activism' prior to involvement in the TAC, she identified the TAC as her 'political home' (Interview, 18 April 2006, TAC). Similarly, Eugene described how he felt a sense of unity and belonging at the training event itself: 'Ja... the participation, the attendance, it gives you a warm feeling. You see that people really want to educate themselves, to gain knowledge, to broaden the horizon' (Interview, 18 April 2006).

4.9.3 Empathy and solidarity

Through experiencing empathy and standing together with people on important issues the participants realised the importance of building solidarity. Several participants commented on their heightened sense of solidarity. Clinton said:

> … [it] has taught me a lot of things and standing together with the people that you really love and ... you will feel more needed ... it's like a unity you know, we stand together, we speak the same language, we toyi-toyi for the same things ... it made me realise I had a beautiful upbringing...it's not about the colour of your skin ... those are things that we can't experience by ourselves ... to me it's a wonderful life that I'm living here (Interview, 8 May 2006).

In other words, Clinton's involvement in TAC had made him appreciate other people more. He learnt to appreciate his own upbringing and started seeing the world in a different light. Having experienced the power of collective struggle has also turned Clinton into a less selfish person who sees the need for spiritual and emotional connection. Balancing life and death, Clinton had lived with HIV for 16 years:

> I was ten years in denial, you know, coming from a Christian background ... you know, being a youth leader ... obviously being a Christian was really hard and I was denying

God for who he really was ... ten years in denial was a total total long year ... but then in 1999 when I got very ill with a CD4 count of 4, I was on death row ... and I was brought back ... there's still hope for the hopeless, you know what I mean, so ... the inspiration and motivation from TAC members have really given me a life, look at these people, they are also living with HIV, we don't say this is the end of the road (Interview, 8 May 2006).

Chantal gave a detailed account of an experience she had visiting a remote area where people living with HIV/Aids were without access to ART:

We went to Worcester, for a TB [tuberculosis] and HIV/Aids workshop, it was the first time that I was really going out with the group ... Ja, I was always the type of person that was involved in my own world ... a lot of people were living in shacks and there were a lot of sick people there, you know you could see that they were in stage four already, really sick, with the sores, and they were just laying there. And a lot of them didn't have access to treatment you know ... children that were looking after the grandma ... that really touched me you know because it was teenagers ... they had to put their lifes aside to look after the grandma ... and what's gonna happen now when the grandma dies... Ja, I clearly remember that day, going into the shack, seeing that old lady, laying on the bed… (Interview, 31 March 2006).

I feel it has opened my eyes ... I started seeing the world in a different perspective ... I've started seeing the world from other people's perspectives ... I was in my own world ... but when I started joining TAC I started to realise that the life that you live isn't about you alone. You have to be involved with other people. Ubuntu, ja there's a saying that goes ... people influence your life in a positive way and what you do to other people also benefit your own life. You feel more positive ... you feel good about yourself... When you start seeing the world that other people are living in then you start appreciating your life more... You feel you have to do something to better the lives of other people (Interview, 31 March 2006).

Chantal started seeing the world from other peoples' perspectives. Seeing the old lady in the shack made her realise that through helping she could contribute to better the life of others. In other words, she said that another person's personal problem was a public problem, and hence her problem. Through empathy Chantal started making connections between private issues and public issues. Reflecting on the 'heart-breaking' murder of Laurna in Khayelitsha, a rape victim who was killed when the rapists discovered her HIV-positive status, Clinton explained that 'one of

the most important things that TAC teaches you' is 'how to stand up for your rights' (Interview, 8 May 2006). Here Clinton emphasize on the importance of collective support.

Clinton said:

> I was not a political person, not at all ... you know I thought it was only these black people toy-toying and so forth ... but I learned what it really means to stand up for your rights ... For people living in conditions where there are no sanitation and water and so forth ... it becomes a political issue… I had a beautiful life in that sense ... I grew up in a nice area. We also struggled in our own way but it was more convenient for us... Look at the rural areas where there's not medication and not sanitation and if you are HIV positive and you don't have a good diet, sanitation and water ... those are the political issues that evolved from my involvement in TAC ... it opened my understanding and it opened my knowledge and opened my heart even more bigger for the people out there (Interview, 8 May 2006).

Through seeing other peoples living conditions Clinton learnt that problems such as poverty that seems individual and personal are in fact public and political issues. He said that it could have been him living under the circumstances as he described above. Clinton learnt from the overall experience of being part of the organisation. Yet, these are some of the experiences that deliberate education should build on and help develop amongst the participants. Reflecting on his life, Clinton explained that HIV/Aids had brought him to the TAC and taught him about 'collective responsibility'. In terms of his activism, he commented that 'if it wasn't for HIV/Aids then I wouldn't be here'. So 'why', he asked, 'does it only have to happen like this ... that something has to happen to you'. He noted that such transformation was rooted in solidarity and collective action with 'other people' (Interview, 8 May 2006). Clinton regretted that he had to contract HIV/Aids before he started doing something to better his own life and that of others. On his part, personal transformation was a result of solidarity and collective action with others.

Similarly, Craig described how being active helped him to guide others:

> I've been talking a lot to different people that need help at some stage in their life. I can also relate to them and what ... happened at the workplace and it's very interesting. Sometimes you feel that, if you take that approach, how, what kind of reaction would you then get ... especially when it comes to 'why do you people just wanna strike?' Then I have to tell them what that is the reason why I have to go to the street ... some – just because it's COSATU, it's black people – bluntly says, you know, 'you just want to disrupt' (Interview, 17 May 2006).

Craig thought that the 'helpful sharing' in the workshops of experiences and frustrations with shop stewards from other trade unions had contributed to his knowledge and helped him in his role as a shop steward, 'when you sit with members of other unions you can share the same frustrations that you have'. He had learnt from NEHAWU's approaches to issues and added that such learning can be 'incorporated' into his own work (Interview, 17 May 2006). Eugene felt that 'we learn from each other' and 'the experiences in the different workplaces', and that the workshops offer them an opportunity to 'talk about it' and 'give advice' (Interview, 21 April 2006). Similarly, Nosipho explained that 'sometimes you learn about other things from the others' and 'maybe you did something the wrong way' and 'whoever' can tell you 'the right way' (Interview, 22 February 2006).

According to the participants, citizen and activist characteristics are much the same. Their life experience has led to their identity as activists – and as activists they are citizens and want to do their job as activists well. So they identify a whole lot of things they think they need to improve on – and these are their expectations and hopes for the education.

4.10 What Did They Want to Learn?

Life experience has lead to their identity as activists – and as activists they are citizens and want to do their job well. The participants came with different expectations ranging from playing a role in the organisations to overthrowing capitalism. All the participants had a vision about a new improved leadership. They all said that they wanted to become activists or improve on their activism as representatives or leaders in their area of engagement. Furthermore, all said that they wanted to develop specific knowledge pertinent to their activism and learn how to apply such knowledge. They identified many things they thought they needed to improve on – and these are their expectations for the learning. They wanted to: build solidarity; build leadership; build understanding of capitalism, globalisation, alcoholism; build the ability to teach and convey the messages and information; teach people how to build and run campaigns.

Thus, if 'learning to struggle' is about 'learning to be a critically active citizen', what did the participants think that citizenship education should entail? Having reflected on what they had learnt in the training, the participants told me what they thought citizens need to know. To most of them it was important to know the constitution in order for people to act on their rights and responsibilities. Both Chantal and Hussein found it important that people learn about the country and the different peoples within the country. They mentioned capitalism and political economy – they spoke about privatisation of public services, capitalism and a new economic strategy. The

participants thought it important to understand: the constitution; government; people, races and classes.

4.10.1 Developing leadership

Some participants had strong visions for the future. Reflecting on the meaning behind the training, Sherrie thought it important to build a 'strong leadership' in the trade unions. She argued for a 'new layer' of 'shop stewards' and highlighted the importance of unity amongst shop stewards and other trade unions. New leadership also included new women's leadership. Sherrie pointed out that there are issues around 'women' that need to be addressed (Interview, 22 February 2006). Sherrie explained

> I think I have overcome many of the challenges that I was facing at the time but I understand that there is a lot more that I can learn and that still needs to be done within the COSATU, particularly around the issue of women and gender related issues... With the relevant training and the relevant support from the team here in the office, I think we can make a success of it (Interview, 22 February 2006).

Similarly, Gugulethu explained that she wanted 'to develop a new level of leadership in TAC' (Interview, 18 April 2006). Toni saw herself as taking on a greater responsibility in the future, and therefore she wished 'to understand politics to become a better leader in TAC' (Interview, 8 May 2006). Chardonnay said 'as an activist I must be strong, intelligent' (Interview, 10 May 2006). As a person who usually 'just listens' to other people, Nosipho wished for practice and knowledge 'to speak in public' (Interview, 22 February 2006).

4.10.2 Developing skills and knowledge to build the campaign / organisation

Like Zola and Aziza, most R2W participants wanted 'to learn how to run the R2W campaign' in their community. This learning involved: how to run a campaign; how to organise; how to represent membership; how to build critical consciousness; how to teach other members to represent the organisation / campaign. Gugulethu said she wanted 'to participate and learn' (Interview, 18 April 2006). Others wanted to learn the practicalities of how 'to do the job' that they had embarked on in their organisation. Both Chardonnay and Sauvignon wanted to 'become a better organiser' (Interview, 10 May 2006). Hussein wanted 'to become a better activist' (Interview, 11 May 2006). Others, such as Nospiho stated 'I am here to learn how to become a shop steward' (Interview, 22 February 2006). The participants wanted to be able to perform the role as expected.

4.10.3 Learning to help other activists

The training heightened their ability and confidence to pass on the message (that is, informing fellow citizens about what they had learnt). Chantal expressed a sense of accountability to her community, noting how 'it feels like I'm studying, like I'm at school' and how the training enabled her to 'then come back to the community and share with them' (Interview, 31 March 2006), Mercedes agreed. Craig conveyed a sense of heightened clarity and responsibility in telling me that after the workshop he wanted to 'help people here when it comes to labour issues' because he acquired 'a broader view and sense of understanding' (Interview, 17 May 2006). The participants were able to pass on the message by speaking out, and up publicly.

4.10.4 Performing their role as leaders

Sherrie said that the education ought to 'enhance people's critical understanding' and help shop stewards become 'more assertive' as activists (Interview, COSATU, 22 February 2006). Expressing a sense of accountability and practice of representative democracy in his union, Eugene explained:

> Ja, it must open my eyes. I am not there for me as a person or as a shop steward. I am there for my members to assist them or to have a better understanding of a certain topic or issue (Interview, 21 April 2006).

In order to fight for a better deal for all people Eugene and Sherrie thought it important to develop their ability to think critically.

4.10.5 Learning about the constitution

To Hussein a citizen ought to 'know about the country'. He said 'they need to be politicised' and to 'know their system and their constitution' (Interview, 11 May 2006). For Chardonnay, knowing ones rights was linked to activism. She insisted that 'people need to learn about their rights' because 'there are some people that don't know their rights and then they don't get involved' (Interview, 10 May 2006). Hussein, Toni and Chantal all stressed the importance of understanding the constitution if people are to learn about rights. Chantal stressed that people need to know 'their rights' as outlined in the 'constitution', which she described as 'the basis of our government' or the 'Bible' or the 'Quran' for South Africa (Interview, 31 March 2006).

As Toni put it:

The first thing I think should be around the constitution because a lot of people are not informed about their rights and what powers they have ... then after that it would be local governance, what's going on in my community, in my local district ... The ward councillors are supposed to do this, this is who I should contact ... [but] they think it's better that people are uninformed because if you really look at all these things and you see what can happen when people are informed ... Each municipality has a councillor and the community don't know them. That's really frightening (Interview, 8 May 2006).

Hussein felt that

… people don't know things here ... they don't know their own history ... their national anthem....they don't know why they are singing it ... they are wearing the flag but they don't know what it means ... they just say, we are 'Proudly South African' (Interview, 11 May 2006).

Similarly, one COSATU participant explained confidently that he expected to learn about

… [the] purpose of representation, to fight for my rights, being treated fairly in the workplace, living wage, inform and educate ourselves about our rights (Journal, COSATU, 23 February 2006, Salt River).

Toni and Hussein wanted to know about their 'rights' and 'what the constitution entails'. As a foreign national, Hussein wanted to learn 'the bill of rights' to become 'politicised' in order to understand 'the system'. He also wished to learn 'more about Africa' (Interview, 11 May 2006). Chantal wanted 'to know about the constitutional rights' so that she could 'fight for rights' (Journal, TAC, 19 August 2005, Salt River). In other words, the participants wanted to learn about their rights but they also aimed to learn how to apply their rights so that they could act on what they had learnt.

4.10.6 Learning about the government

Clinton added that people ought to learn about the government and that this should involve policies about health:

We need a better life, a better health care system and we need to understand the government much better, open it and broaden it to people, to the community and to South African citizens, those are the important things to me today ... and we need to know that if we are to have children today they got to have all those things in place ... Do they have a

better life? Do they have a better health care system? Do they understand how government works? Yes, but it's not open to them (Interview, 8 May 2006).

In other words, Clinton suggested that people ought to participate more in the decision making of the country. He also suggested that the government was not transparent enough. In fact, participants were passionate about issues such as 'leadership', 'transparency' and 'accountability' raised by the controversies surrounding [at the time] Deputy President Jacob Zuma. The participants were looking for an honest leader with good morals, in other words, fit to be a good role model for young people. For instance, Clinton insisted that government must be transparent:

> They got the information but they are keeping it away from us, denied ... I think ... basically if we as the citizens of South Africa comes to know what happens in government we would take a stand, we would really take over, and say that you people are saying that and that ... and what I don't like about our South African government whereby they would say something today and ... three days behind the line they would change their policies ... if you have a policy you stick to that policy ... you know what I'm saying? ... ja, if you look at this Zuma [rape] case, and hello, we were just discussing it, hello, there was a leader and he was the deputy president, if there's not gonna be made an example of the judge and an example of him, who else is going to do the same thing over and over again? (Interview, 8 May 2006)

Lunga noted that such education should be 'non-formal' and funded by the state, but added that 'independent' education, implying 'critical' education, had to be funded by independent organisations (Interview, 1 February 2006).

4.10.7 Learning about people: races and classes

A foreign national, Hussein commented that he was often discriminated against and that he was 'call[ed] names' like 'makwerekwere' by South African 'men' who he said were blaming him for 'unemployment and poverty'. Hussein went on to discuss 'scapegoating', saying that

> … they need to know more about Africa ... they often say that Nigerians are trafficking drugs but when you ask them how many Nigerians there are in South Africa ... [they don't know] ... ja, in the whole of South Africa there are very few ... you must always have someone to blame ... The main thing that brings people to be xenophobic is laziness... people here don't like to work hard ... unemployment is another ... another thing is the ladies. Because I am hard working I can sustain the ladies ... and when she comes to me I start on a high level whereby they can't compete and so they start insulting me ...

this one I speak out of experience. This one will cry because she don't want to go ... she don't get a life like that with a South African ... so women and unemployment (Interview, 11 May 2006).

Hussein thought it pertinent that South African citizens learnt about foreign nationals living in South Africa. As a person born in South Africa, Chantal identified herself as 'coloured' and focused on her community. I asked Chantal what she thought would help people escape the poverty trap. She said that each person had an individual responsibility to get educated in order to better their lives:

> I think it's also an individual thing, because we as coloureds, I'm a coloured OK, we feel now that it isn't our struggle but even though we are not infected we are affected by it. We are also still in denial you know about a lot of issues. We want to go and play or we are unemployed, or 'I don't know this' or 'I don't have that. 'Oh I'm so poor' but we don't want to be educated so we can do something you know. If people are educated they will do something about it (Interview, 31 March 2006).

Chantal declared that 'Non-formal education is important'. Senzeni said that the education ought to be non-formal in order to stay 'political' and 'independent' (Interview, 2 February 2006). Chantal said that the education should be non-formal so that it could be 'radical' (Interview, 31 March 2006). Lunga noted that the education should be non-formal so that it could be 'critical of the government' when necessary (Interview, 1 February 2006).

4.11 Part Three

How Did the Facilitation Process Unfold?

Many of the facilitators worked across the organisations. This meant that facilitation style also went across the organisations. I have noted how the facilitators emphasised that this type of education should be 'participatory' and help the participants 'reflect on their own experiences' – that it should be about 'sharing' and learning from each other. Highly motivated as they were, how did the facilitators perform? Next I will discuss the facilitation process used to facilitate the abovementioned strategies.

4.11.1 Building on participants' experiences with unemployment

All three organisations had unemployment as a central topic. The TAC programme referred to the implications of unemployment and how it was linked to poverty, substance abuse, domestic

violence and transactional sex.   Most AIDC participants and many TAC participants were unemployed.   The COSATU participants had work but many also had to support unemployed family members.

There was clear evidence of a deliberate focus on personal experience.   The AIDC screened a locally-made documentary featuring personal interviews with unemployed people in Durban and touching on socio-economic problems related directly to AIDC participants' personal search for employment.   The screening was followed by an animated discussion in which participants told of their own personal experiences.   John commented that

> … according to the LFS [Labour Force Survey], you are not unemployed if you do any work on your household plot or if you catch any fish, prawn, shells or wild animals for sale - in this definition, beggars could be regarded as employed (Journal, AIDC, 31 January – 01 February 2006, Bloubergstrand).

For him this signalled a move 'from Aids denialism to unemployment denialism'.   Comparing unemployment to a virus infecting South African communities, Matthew declared at the TAC workshop that

> Unemployment is not just an individual problem, it's a public problem [that] eats away on our community... Unemployment is like a virus – and the symptoms are increased poverty, violence, more crime, xenophobia and prostitution (Journal, TAC, 8 July 2005, Salt River).

Linking unemployment with xenophobia, and noting that some 'South Africans' were blaming 'Nigerians' for taking the jobs, Matthew wanted to know what jobs these could be: 'What jobs - the jobs that are not here?' (Journal, AIDC, 30 January – 1 February 2006, Bloubergstrand).   In this case there was no question that the discussion was firmly rooted in ordinary people's struggles, freshly exacerbated by xenophobic attacks.

In a group work presentation, TAC participants highlighted problems such as lack of resources; shortage of staff at schools; inadequate school buildings; unemployed parents' inability to pay their children's school fees; crime and violence at schools; substance abuse; teenage pregnancy; HIV-positive parents, children and teachers; child-headed households due to Aids (Journal, TAC, 08 July 2005, TAC).   Also COSATU was concerned with unemployment.   The initial SANCA Western Cape workshop on substance abuse was interrupted by a media press conference called by COSATU and SACP and so the interview became part of the workshop.   The topics

discussed were: 'Is the Alliance falling apart?' 'There is concern about the local government election because of lack of service delivery, what does COSATU say about this?' The COSATU general secretary said how the unemployment crisis was affecting all layers of society, also the employed because unemployed family members are dependent on them. He said that the trade unions ought to unite with the employed because employed people (especially in the textile industry) stood at risk for becoming retrenched. He went on to talk about how neoliberal policies such as GEAR had made the unemployment crisis worse with regards to job losses (Journal, COSATU, 10 November 2005, COSATU).

4.11.2 Building on participants' experiences with substance abuse

All three organisations made reference to substance abuse. Participants at the AIDC Women's School cited substance abuse as a fundamental problem linked to domestic violence and abuse against women and children. TAC facilitators linked substance abuse to poverty. In the COSATU programme substance abuse emerged as such a problematic issue as the course proceeded that a decision was made to have an additional session on the topic. The COSATU workshop 10 November 2005, initially meant to focus on consumer protection, was changed to substance abuse.

COSATU ran a workshops called 'Substance Abuse and Dependency in the Workplace', *A training course on aspects of intervention and prevention* by SANCA (Western Cape) (2005). Participants in the room were asked outright: 'How many of you drink?' Two out of twenty admitted to drinking. The facilitator laughed and said that it was a 'remarkably low number of people who drank'. Jokingly, he noted: 'perhaps there is no need for me to be here talking about alcoholism'. Nevertheless, he started explaining 'the rules about drinking' whilst at work. The COSATU facilitator also related substance abuse to his own life experiences as he spoke about his 'father' who was an 'alcoholic' (Journal, COSATU, 10 November 2005, COSATU). As the session went on, my observation was that participants felt comfortable about discussing both their own drinking habits and substance abuse among their family members or neighbours (Journal, COSATU, 09 March 2006, COSATU).

Confirming the concrete reality of alcoholism as a problem among farm workers, one participant spoke from his own experience: 'Drinking habits as a result of the 'dop' system has led to babies with alcohol syndrome' (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, COSATU). Another farm worker related the story of her own family: 'my dad got paid in alcohol, and he became an alcoholic - now my husband is an alcoholic too'. As she explained, 'this was the only job that they could find – we grew up on the farm, we went to school there and we became farm workers too'. Another farm worker said, 'my husband keeps wasting our money on cheap wine – sometimes we have nothing

to eat' and sometimes he becomes 'abusive towards me' (Journal, COSATU, 10 November 2005, COSATU). TAC facilitators also linked poverty and unemployment to issues such as teenage pregnancy, substance abuse, violence and so on (Journal, TAC, 08 July 2005, TAC).

The facilitators began by building on the participants' experience, and they then extended such experience by giving additional information on the topic. This is then followed by a process of integrating the old knowledge with the new knowledge. The new information constitutes a process of knowledge production, what Freire (1990) calls dialogue.

4.11.3 Building on participants' experiences with violence against women

In all three organisations female participants were faced with 'domestic violence' and the risk of contracting 'HIV/Aids'. The theme for one of the COSATU workshops (Journal, COSATU, 24 November, 2005, COSATU) was: 'Gender Based Violence (GBV) Against Women and Children – Sixteen Days of Activism' (2005a). COSATU facilitators began by asking, 'What is domestic violence?' Facilitators and participants then went on to discuss different 'types of domestic violence' such as 'physical, emotional, financial and sexual abuse'. The facilitators suggested a link between abuse against women and human rights as enshrined in the constitution and in legislation such as the Domestic Violence Act of 1998, and drew attention to a document entitled 'The NEDLAC Code of Good Practice on handling Sexual Harassment' which addressed 'sexual harassment' in the workplace. Participants were also given a list of Help Line and police emergency numbers.

Themes addressed in TAC literature included: inequality between male and female participation in the economy; female participation in low paid jobs; women's 'unpaid' work as 'housewives'; how to achieve women's empowerment (African Renewal, 2005; Agenda, 2005). TAC facilitators also looked at the relationship between abuse against women and women's constitutional right to equity. Other themes covered were women's right to equal pay for equal work, and a women's right to a work environment free from sexual harassment ('Women's Right: the facts', n.d., TAC).

Matthew commented that the R2W needed 'more women' in the 'forums'. On Women's Day, the AIDC organised a workshop focussing on the way unemployment affected women in relationships with respect to 'domestic violence', 'sexism' and 'alcohol abuse' by a partner (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand). As a follow-up they organised an AIDC Women's School, in which one of the workshops addressed the question: 'How does life and work differ for women in the "new" South Africa?' For instance, one of the women said:

We are free to go wherever we want to now but we are still poor and this prevents us from going wherever we want. We can't find work. This forces many of the young women to look for boyfriends or husbands with money and this again is a dangerous game because of HIV/Aids and violence against women (Journal, AIDC, Women's School, 27-30 September 2005, Melkbosstrand).

Participants spoke confidently and openly about their personal experiences of unemployment, transactional sex, domestic abuse and HIV/Aids. The subject matter was close to their most immediate and strongly felt priorities. The AIDC also screened 'The history book' that dealt with capitalism and unjust power relations between social classes, ethnic groups, and genders. The film showed how deep-rooted patriarchy created structural problems such as economic dependency and inequality between the sexes, leading to domestic violence and psychological abuse. Female participants were actively drawn into the discussion with questions that related to their own lives and experiences.

One of the female participants spoke about her abusive husband who 'beats' her when he returns 'drunk' from the 'shebeen' [bar]. Another spoke of facing a constant threat of contracting HIV/Aids because her husband would 'go out' and 'get drunk' with 'his friends' and have 'unprotected sex' with 'other women'. Some said they felt they 'had no option' but to stay in an abusive relationship because they were dependent' on their husbands and boyfriends for money. Other women said they were economically dependent on their 'sugar daddies'. They would get food and clothes from them in exchange for sex, which was often 'unprotected' because 'guys do not like the condom'. Another told how she was 'raped' by a 'family member' and fell pregnant as a teenager. Yet another contracted HIV from her 'unfaithful boyfriend' (Journal, AIDC, Women's School, 27-30 September 2005, Melkbosstrand).

An AIDC participant facilitating group work on women's oppression pointed out how language, religion, class, family, work, culture and education could be used to oppress women. Having lived most of her life in India, she pointed out similarities between women's oppression in India and in South Africa. She explained how in India the 'woman's family' have to 'pay some form of 'ilobolo' (money or goods), called 'dowry' to the husbands' family to 'secure' the 'future of their daughter'. She also pointed out how in India some baby girls are aborted or killed and some wife's are killed if they cannot give birth to a boy, as often promised by marriage. To millions of people in South Africa 'ilobolo', in which the husband has to pay money or goods to the wife's family, is part of the status quo. Thus, the workshops dealt with social issues as well as with political education.

4.11.4 Building on participants' experiences with sectarianism

Sectarianism was an issue of great concern in AIDC. An article, included in the reading list, entitled 'What is sectarianism?' (2005) explained that it is the 'belief' of a 'group of people' that their view 'is 'the only view' and one that does not work with 'other groups' of a different view. To ensure that the participants had understood, Matthew asked workshop participants to explain 'in their own words' concepts such as sectarianism, ultra-leftism, and the united front approach, and 'relate it to their own lives'. Carlos said:

> It means that one can work together with other groups of people on common issues. That means putting small differences aside for the time being. This is what some of us are trying to do in the SECC and the APF in Joburg [Johannesburg]. We need to stand together (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand).

Observing that some participants at an AIDC workshop adopted a sectarian attitude towards other movements such as the TAC, seeing them as 'not revolutionary', Matthew insisted that 'whether we like their politics or not – if it was not for the TAC we would not have been where we are now' (Journal, AIDC, 30 January – 1 February 2006, Bloubergstrand). In fact, one of the participants criticized the R2W campaign for being 'reformist' as opposed to 'revolutionary'. Pleading for a 'non-sectarian' approach, John urged the R2W to

> … bring together all the demands of those who are unemployed – it's a unifying demand – respect the R2W – to a decent living ... Who is included or excluded in the R2W campaign? The employed, the unemployed, non-sectarian people that are able to work with us on the unemployment issue ... R2W is independent from the ruling class and the state but it engages with the state (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand).

Building on participants' experiences against neoliberalism

All three organisations sought to cultivate an understanding of underlying causes of unemployment, unfair working conditions and deficiencies in the provision of public health services. In all of the programmes workshops, discussion continually returned to issues such as globalisation, neoliberalism, privatisation of public services, cut backs in funding of basic services, and unemployment. Turning all of this into a process of conscientisation meant continually relating personal issues (like unemployment) to broader forces (like global capitalism). As an introduction to a discussion of capitalism and globalisation the AIDC screened a film called *The history book*, which demonstrated how the capitalist system bred competition, exploitation, war, racism and urbanisation. The film exposed the mismanagement of taxes and the hypocritical role of churches. It also explored the crisis of capitalism, and the intensified competition over

economic monopoly in the globalisation process, in juxtaposition with depictions of worker solidarity in building and supporting trade unions and other movements.

Matthew noted that neoliberal policies promote 'trade liberalisation' and aim to make 'labour laws more flexible'. Building on participants' experiences, Matthew commented: 'Some of you recently did contract work in the retail sector or at Pick 'n Pay [South African supermarket]. Now your jobs are finished'. Then he asked: 'How long did you work? What was your pay?' Having had a one month employment contract with Pick 'n Pay one participant responded, 'I worked twelve hours per day, five days per week, and I earned R285 (£19,42 or $28,81) per week'. She earned R 57 (£3,88 or $5,76) per day, which accounted to approximately R 4,75 (£0,30 or $0,48) per hour (Journal, AIDC, January 30- February 1 2006, Bloubergstrand). Matthew added that the social aspect of unemployment and poverty breeds racism and xenophobia.

For example, in the COSATU workshop on Occupational, Environmental Health and Safety, the facilitator noted how neoliberal policies lead to further cuts in government spending on public services. In response, a participant from SACTAWU made the link between backlogs in government spending on basic services and sanitation, and increasing reliance on outsourced labour rather than permanent jobs. Noting how 'neoliberal policies' affected his community, he made the point that 'The municipal workers have to deal with the bucket system. They are also experiencing problems with outsourcing, which has become more common under the neoliberal policy of GEAR' (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, COSATU).

Many of the AIDC and TAC participants were unemployed and homeless. The AIDC argued that neoliberalism promotes cuts in the public budget and hence leaves less money for housing for the homeless. This view was also expressed in two items on the AIDC reading list: Pithouse (2005, p. 8) and Amato (2005, p. 5). Themes addressed in the AIDC newsletter *Alternatives* (2005) were: youth - the unemployed generation; Public works programme not working for the public; further industrial tariff liberalisation through the World Trade Organisation (WTO); government policies, unemployment; export orientated growth has failed to create jobs. This literature was particularly critical of neoliberal policies such as GEAR, and called for the elimination of international institutions such as the WTO, World Bank and the IMF.

On the evidence of my research, the three organisations brought participants' real experiences into the classroom. The second defining feature of popular education is that it is 'political and critical of the status *quo'*.

4.11.5 Teaching a critical view of the state, its agents and policies

In trying to build an unemployed peoples' movement, the AIDC was overtly critical of government's inability to create enough jobs. They argued that the 'road to freedom' did not end with the liberal democratic elections in 1994 but pointed out that the right to work was a necessary part of fulfilling the road to freedom (R2W, 2005). The R2W campaign included a series of leaflets with titles such as:

- 'The Right to Work – The Long Road to Freedom'
- 'Right to Work: necessary road to freedom'
- 'Redistribute wealth to overcome unemployment'
- 'Stop the jobs blood bath'

All three organisations held the state and business accountable for the gross inequalities. They said that they ought to create more jobs, ensure fair wages and working conditions, and provide good public health care. Their educational work was supporting the struggles to make work a constitutional right, fair working conditions and dignified public healthcare. Focusing on 'workers' rights', COSATU facilitators linked the workers' struggle to their constitutional right to fair working conditions. COSATU facilitators saw workers' struggles as part of the wider struggle against poverty, unemployment, domestic violence and substance abuse. COSATU (2005b) addressed the question of how to make use of the Commission for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA). This involved providing information on:

Labour Institutions and the Dispute Resolution Process

- The Constitutional Court
- The Labour Court
- The CCMA
- Bargaining Council

In COSATU, the workshop called 'An introduction to Occupational, Environmental Health and Safety for COSATU Western Cape Shop Stewards' by Industrial Health Research Group (IHRG) (2005c) addressed 'What are workers' Occupational Health and Safety rights'? The facilitator argued that 'businesses often override the constitutional rights of the workers'. He also noted that government outsources work to businesses that then disrespect the rights of the workers (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, COSATU). Making short inputs and using accessible language, the facilitator sided with the workers. Participants laughed when he referred to the bosses as 'fat cats' and 'lazy' (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, COSATU).

Critical of government policies on health in general and access to ART in particular, the TAC programme linked the 'need' for good public health care to the constitutional 'right' to live in

dignity. The programme content made HIV/Aids a political public issue rather than just a social issue. This was also apparent in publications provided by the Aids Law Project (2003) entitled 'HIV/Aids and the Law' and 'The Constitution and The Bill of Rights'. Lindile pointed out that

> TAC teaches people about rights, the constitution. It combats the stigma attached to HIV/Aids in the community. TAC respects the masses. TAC fights for access to ART, health care and treatment literacy (Journal, TAC, 08 July 2005, TAC).

The TAC is demanding that the state do not override citizens constitutional rights. The TAC reading list consisted of authors with a critical stand against the government's inability to eliminate inequality and create jobs (Friedman & Mottiar, 2004). At the TAC leadership school, Matthew screened a film on the 'World Economic Forum in Switzerland - Debt and Globalisation', showing President Thabo Mbeki critical of the protesters. The film exacerbated TAC participants' anger towards President Thabo Mbeki and his reluctance to roll out a national ART plan. A booklet put out by the TAC criticised government's reluctance to increase its funding of the public health service (Arafia, 2004). The booklet explained the way drugs are patented and the difficulties of producing generic ART. Commenting on the success of the TAC's fight for ART, the facilitator explained that

> ... people without access to ART were dying due to the fact that the government refused to commit to a ART roll-out plan, and because the multinational drug companies refused to lower their prices on ART (Journal, TAC, 02 September 2005, TAC).

Indirectly, the facilitator put the blame on the state and the multinational companies for the death of many of their diseased comrades.

Teaching a critical view of capitalism

Matthew insisted, for example, that

> ... there's not two economies like government and business are saying. There is one economy which is hugely uneven. Capitalism grows and develops at the same time as it stagnates... This is called uneven and combined development (Journal, AIDC, 30 January –1 February 2006, Bloubergstrand).

In an era where many people have accepted that 'there is no alternative' to neoliberalism, the AIDC provided anti-capitalist literature such as Marx and Engels (1848), *The Communist Manifesto* and Callinicos's *Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx* (1987). Such literature argued for

workers' control of the state – namely that the people who work the factories and make the profit also decide how the profit is going to be re-distributed and invested. Similarly, Harman's *Economics of the Madhouse* (1995) is a critique of capitalism and the economic market. Much of the literature was written by people supporting the socialist tradition of Leon Trotsky, such as Callinicos (1990).

All three programmes provided education as deliberate intervention for change. Did such instruction translate into action? Having interviewed facilitators and participants, and observed the participants in education sessions, meetings and campaigns, I realised that some participants claimed to have learnt things they were often unable to explain. Given that popular education is supposed to relate learning to action that is relevant for struggle, was it possible that the participants were 'struggling to learn' about the *content* because of the *process,* and hence 'struggling' to *put theory into practice*?

4.12 What Did the Participants Claim to Have Learnt?

All the participants came with their own set of expectations and motivations. Did the workshops meet their expectations? Initially, I found it quite challenging to categorise the data. Some of the participants made huge claims about what they had learnt. When I asked them to explain issues to me, they often found it difficult. I also received many different answers to the same question. However, as I worked out headings for each of the three organisations, broad themes started to emerge across the board, perhaps with additional issues specific to each organisation. The participants claimed to have learnt to: present the organisation and campaign; run the campaign; develop women leadership; develop non-sectarian attitudes; develop solidarity; understand different perceptions; understand substance abuse; develop awareness; see HIV/Aids as a political / public issue; understand international institutions; understand antiretrovial treatment; understand constitutional rights; understand rights in the workplace; understand health and safety in the workplace. The quotes in this section however, are taken from journal notes and interviews.

For example, Toni captured a lot of the issues that were pertinent to the education, about which she had this to say:

> … the G8 to me are the rich countries, they have influence and make life choices for us in Third World countries and a person might not see the immediate effect that it has on you as a person but in the long run when you look at these policies that have been put in place you can see how it really affect you as a person on the ground, so I think to know

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the G8 and the power that it has gives a person an understanding of the power that they can actually have over certain countries, or all the countries ... if you look at pharmaceutical companies ... there's a saying that says a rich person don't want to become poor, a rich person wants to become richer, so obviously us wanting cheaper drugs means they are losing money and if they can understand what our countries are going through and there's a struggle for life and death to actually get access to cheaper drugs ... they would understand that it would be easier for them to ... go to the pharmaceutical companies to get the prices down ... it is a matter of power ... a person don't want to give away their power ... (Interview, 8 May 2006).

The following two sections will deal with the 'struggle' skills and the 'struggle' knowledge that the participants claimed that they had acquired.

4.12.1 Developing 'struggle' skills

4.12.1.1 Learning to present the organisation and the campaign

All participants learned to speak publicly as well as speaking to the public. As they told me during the interviews,

I have started to speak politics and people want to discuss with me all the time... when I think they want to I just start a conversation ... even in the taxi (Sipho, Interview, 2 November 2005).

I am very confident ... I'm even able to explain the R2W and issues to COSATU and other people... We had a meeting recently, in fact three meetings, also with the NUM [National Union of Mineworkers] (Senzeni, Interview, 2 February 2006).

I am excited about the R2W and I feel confident about running the campaign. I go to the different areas to present the campaign. I can speak to unemployed and employed people about the campaign (Carlos, Interview, 2 November 2005).

If you don't know about issues I think you won't have that confidence to speak out... You know there is not a day that goes by without a friend or a person ask me about things ... even in the taxi you start talking to the person next to you… You know you then have that security to speak out. So it gives you that confidence to speak more and become more eloquent... In this way you become more active (Zola, Interview, 29 November 2005).

Sipho had learnt to speak about politics and start conversations, even in the taxi. Senzeni said he felt so 'confident' that he was able to explain the R2W campaign and issues to COSATU and the National Union of Mineworkers. Carlos went around to different areas to present the campaign. He felt good speaking to unemployed and employed people about the R2W campaign. I observed all of the abovementioned participants throughout the time of my research. They were all vocal, as they spoke up during the workshops and presented their R2W report-backs in front of the other participants.

The participants felt that their new insights and understanding had made it easier for them to speak about the issues and tell others about it. Nosipho spoke with confidence about her 'experiences' of solidarity and about the importance of taking collective responsibility. She explained 'I have never been a person that speaks ... but now I can speak ... for the workers as well ... coming here has given me more experience, more self confidence'. If 'in a crowd there's someone saying something about domestic workers, I will stand up and defend the workers' (Interview, 22 February 2006). I also observed Nosipho during the workshops and I found that she was very vocal. On the day of the interview, I observed her at the COSATU offices where she was working for the domestic workers union. In her job, she often had to deal with the various parties that make use of the CCMA. In fact I also observed her having heated debates with CCMA complainants – in one case, an employer, and another case, an employee. The employer was accused of discrimination in terms of racism and low pay. The employee was accused of not doing her job properly. Nosipho went straight to the point. She provided them with information about the next necessary steps. Similarly, Hussein commented that he takes 'the chance to stand in front of a group of people and speak' at the end of the workshop if 'there's other issues' that were not resolved (Interview, 11 May 2006). Hussein was vocal at each TAC workshop. The participants' new insights made them feel knowledgeable enough to speak up in front of others.

The participants' exhibited signs of ability to present and build the campaigns and organisations. For example, Senzeni improved his ability to present the group work from the start of the programme to the end of my research. He was more articulate when he spoke. He kept eye contact with the audience (the other participants) and he kept them interested (AIDC, Journal, 30 Jan – 1 Feb 2006, Bloubergstrand). Similarly, Thando spoke fluently about the R2W campaign and what they had done in his area. He did no longer stutter and blush when he spoke. He was focused and to the point as he kept to the allocated time for his presentation (AIDC, Journal, 30 Jan – 1 Feb 2006, Bloubergstrand). Lunga told the participants how he had started to mobilise his community. He had also brought two new R2W members that formed part of his discussion (AIDC, Journal, 30 Jan – 1 Feb 2006, Bloubergstrand).

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4.12.1.2 Learning to run the campaign

Participants all hoped to learn to run the campaign. In their report backs many of the AIDC participants claimed that they had learnt to *mobilise* and *organise.* Like Senzeni, Simphiwe and Sipho, most participants claimed to have gained the 'ability' to 'run' and 'build' a campaign'. They noted that this had enhanced their capacity as activists. Senzeni made the point that as R2W activists they 'help train other R2W activists' and that they hold 'meetings and workshops in Welkom for the unions', such as COSATU and NUM (Interview, 2 February 2006).

Lunga told the participants how he had started to mobilise his community. He had also brought two new R2W members that formed part of his discussion (AIDC, Journal, 30 Jan – 1 Feb 2006, Bloubergstrand). Chardonnay said that she had learnt 'what it means to be a shop steward' and how to 'give report back to our union members' (Interview, 10 May 2006). Candice and Craig said that they had learnt to 'share information' and take it back to their workplace, community and home. Others, like Toni, claimed to have gained 'political understanding' and hence 'personal confidence' to fight for 'the cause' (Interview, 8 May 2006). Eugene helped people in his community and workplace overcome 'drug abuse' (Interview, 21 April 2006).

4.12.1.3 Learning to develop women leadership

Toni expressed a sense of empowerment, as she noted

> ... for us as women it's important to be in leadership positions ... we're still a bit hesitant
> to take that up because it's unknown you know ... I have learnt a lot about politics and
> why it is important for us to get involved'. Toni expressed a sense of empowerment: 'it
> makes me feel a bit more empowered but I know there's still a lot more that I need to get
> a lot more confidence in ... I think I have learned lots in a short space of time ... I try to
> read the newspapers (Interview, 8 May 2006).

Other participants reported that they had become more aware of issues and were therefore more critically attuned to what was being said by other people, facilitators and the media. Sherrie added that the training gave people the necessary awareness of issues to become 'more assertive' around the issues at task (Interview, 22 February 2006). Chantal said, 'I felt confident to ask questions ... and ... to disagree', and added that facilitators seemed to 'appreciate' it (Interview, 31 March 2006). She felt that personal development helped her take on the responsibility of the leadership role. In other words Chantal participated when she was given the space to ask questions.

Chardonnay declared that the training has made her 'strong' as a 'trade union activist' and as a 'person' (Interview, 10 May 2006). In other words, the training helped Chardonnay with personal development as well as with her development to perform her role and responsibility as a shop steward. Nosipho expressed new 'confidence' from the training, noting that the facilitators 'want everyone to take part and it feels more relaxed and I have never felt ashamed of saying that I'm working for the domestic workers union because I see ourselves, us all, as one' (Interview, 22 February 2006).

4.12.1.4 Learning to develop non-sectarian attitudes

Lunga explained that 'sectarianism' meant that a 'group of people have the belief that their politics are the only way', to the point that they 'refuse to work with or speak to other political groups because of political differences' (Interview, 1 February 2006). Zola claimed to have encountered many 'ultra-leftist' activists, which to him meant: 'when a left political group or individuals cannot see anything right in the politics of its opponents', to the point where they 'refuse to work with' other groups that 'are not, for instance, revolutionary' (Interview, 29 November 2005). For Thando, a united front approach meant 'work[ing] with other political groups where one has a common political ground' (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand).

4.12.1.5 Learning to develop solidarity

Candice explained how her previous 'misconceptions' about 'black people' had changed. She commented that engaging with different people in the trade union and workplace led her to realize that 'they will sometimes give you clarity on things that you don't understand'. She told me, animatedly, that 'I really changed my thinking'. Due to apartheid, Candice grew up in a previously 'Coloured' area and did not really interact with black 'African' people.   Apartheid led to antagonism and hatred between the various ethnic groups and stereotypes developed. Such stereo types were often based on assumptions about intelligence, social behaviour and culture. Working with black 'African' people, Candice had realised that her previous assumptions were wrong (Interview, 13 April 2006). She had understood that she had a lot to learn from people that she had thought were less intelligent and less knowledgeable than her. During the workshop, Candice reminded the participants that it was important to 'treat fellow shop stewards and workers with respect regardless of race' (Journal, 22 September 2005, COSATU). During the interview, I observed Candice confronting her sister (standing in the kitchen) about racism. Candice told her that she was being 'judgemental' and insisted that if she gave black 'African' people a chance, she would prove her judgements wrong. This incident confirmed that Candice took the struggle beyond the workplace – into her home (Interview, 13 April 2006).

Through their involvement in the organisations the participants said that they were able to see things from other peoples' perspectives and this made them more understanding, caring and responsible. Beyond his personal struggle, Clinton explained that joining the TAC had made him more active as a South African citizen: 'I never thought that I would be active.' It helps develop active, caring and responsible citizens. His involvement in the TAC taught him to 'stand up for his rights' and equipped him with a wider understanding of politics (Interview, 8 May 2006). Standing together in solidarity with other HIV positive people helped Clinton see that there was a life for him after finding out about his HIV positive status.

As a former member of the ANC Youth League, Aziza told me: 'I don't believe in ANC party politics because they only focus on the ANC'. In one of the workshops she complained that 'we have education in the ANC Youth League but it teaches us to defend the ANC, to learn the ANC argument' (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand). In this context, Aziza pointed out the importance of seeing 'different struggles as linked' in order 'to be strong and win'. She added: 'HIV people are also unemployed ... we also need to see unemployment linked to struggles for ARVs because unemployed people are often poor people unable to pay for nutritious foods necessary to stay healthy' (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand). In other words, Aziza believed that the different struggles were linked, and thought it was important to build a united front for change. Eugene highlighted the importance of class consciousness as he said:

> Ja we must interact more with other sectors … if we can have solidarity strikes ... like the security guys, to support those guys that are getting peanuts for wages. We can actually support them by not coming to work overtime because then they must do the overtime and the work must go on ... I have been on solidarity strikes where I saw the effectiveness of that and where we had a strike, and here were a very small group outside. At my time in SATAWU, South African airways they came out to support us, there we saw the effect of that ja (Interview, 21 April 2006).

Eugene's experience with action had taught him to be strategic and class conscious. He had learnt that it was important for him to side with other workers, also those that were worse off than him.

4.12.2 Developing 'struggle' knowledge

4.12.2.1 Learning about constitutional rights

The constitutionally enshrined respect for human dignity was a starting point for all of the facilitators, embracing, as they see it, entitlement to employment, fair working conditions and pay, and access to a good public health service. In step with these priorities participants acquired knowledge about the constitution, power, negotiating power, rights in the workplace, gender, and health and safety in the workplace. Lindile said: 'It's our constitutional right to live a life in dignity, also as HIV positive people' (Journal, TAC, 8 July 2005, TAC). Chantal noted that 'the neoliberal policies that cut public spending on health prevented that all people have the opportunity to a life in dignity as we are promised in our constitution'. Having learnt about her constitutional rights, Chantal insisted that 'knowledge is power' (Interview, 31 March 2006). From learning about their constitutional rights, they felt better equipped to fight for their rights. In AIDC the participants said that they had a right to a life in 'dignity', which to them meant, access to decent jobs. In COSATU the participants thought they had a right to a living wage and safe working conditions. In TAC the participants meant that they had a right to a life in dignity, which to them meant access to a good public health service.

4.12.2.2 Learning about rights in the workplace

Constantly linking participants' experiences with their constitutional rights, one of the COSATU facilitators asked: 'What are the rights for pregnant women?' One of the participants explained that these rights were 'to be found in the Basic Conditions of Employment Act'. Pointing out the difference between permanent work and a contract agreement, an ex-contract worker asked: 'Does this right applies to contract workers?' The facilitator answered that it applied both to permanent workers and to contract workers.   Another participant insisted that 'you as a pregnant worker must say what you can or can't do. They don't tell you. You must know your own rights' (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, COSATU).   Similarly, a COSATU participant explained:

> Home work is increasingly happening where people are working in garages and houses and they get children involved in order to produce more. HIV/Aids forces children to work and to take care of the household and their siblings (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, COSATU).

Highlighting that child labour is on the increase, the participant had made the connection that child labour defeats children's right to formal schooling. Eugene, on the other hand, said that attending the workshops had taught him about rights and regulations at a workplace. He told me that

… we get our research on our own and we know where to go, and most definitely it's important, and the other one, the work place skills. On the previous session, he helped me the next day, so I knew where are we going to and what are our rights ... ja, how we can bargain and so, ja ... we found out that our company does contribute in the SETA but they are using the excuse, they are using that refresher training that is put on by law saying ... They are paying for it, that's why they are going on that course. So our management they want to tell us on which courses that we can or cannot go, how can I say, the workplace skills plan, to see who is the contact person... then they will have contact with that person ... they found out that why is it that management is getting... .huge bursaries and we are getting the leftover of what they decide on ... we are first getting our facts together ... then we can say what we want ... what money and so forth (Interview, 21 April 2006).

4.12.2.3 Learning about health and safety in the workplace

A COSATU participant explained:

At some farms the men are protected with proper clothing when using pesticides and herbicides but the women get no protection when they have to help him. There is no water to wash their hands and this is critical when the workers so go to lunch. This causes health problems (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, COSATU).

Likewise, a fellow participant pointed out that

Textile workers in Ladysmith are working under extremely harsh conditions. One woman lost her two twins when she was locked up in the factory. Textile workers are made to fit into the production line and not *vice versa*. When women are pregnant they are still expected to sit at the same place in front of the sewing machine even when the stomach does not fit in anymore. The factory does not accommodate the changing body (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, COSATU).

Highlighting the difficult working conditions, particularly for women, this indicated that the participants were conscious of their problems.

4.12.2.4 Learning about international institutions

Across the organisations the course outlines included topics and / or literature on international institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF. This was part of teaching the participants about the political economy and also to develop critical awareness. The participants found it challenging to explain the role of such institutions in detail using their own words. Hence, they often succumbed to sloganeering. For example, when I asked Simphiwe what he had learnt from the political education he told me that he had learnt about the World Bank. Therefore, I asked Simphiwe to explain the role of the World Bank. He told me: 'The World Bank is promoting privatisation of basic services' (Interview, AIDC, 30 November 2005). This view was deliberately facilitated in the AIDC workshops (Journal, AIDC, 1 Feb 2006, Blougergstrand), but Simphiwe was unable to explain any further what the role of the World Bank was and demonstrated sloganeering rather than actual understanding and insight.

Different participants saw different topics as the most important or the most interesting. Bongi and Toni both mentioned what they had learnt about the IMF.
Bongi:

 … the World Bank is an institution that borrows money to poor countries and when the countries can't pay back their loans, they are forced to restructure their funding for public services (Interview, 3 May 2006).

Toni:
I think the IMF is this body ... not regulated but borrowing money to other countries in the world and then obviously with the borrowing of the money comes things that are connected to that, paying the debt or you are getting it on these conditions. They are there to borrow money to the poor countries and they are also there to regulate the funding... it would depend on what you're gonna use it for ... but ... whenever you borrow money from the bank there's conditions connected to that money (Interview, 8 May 2006).

It seemed that the participants found it easier to explain issues that were close to their hearts such as alcoholism, domestic violence and sectarianism than issues such as political terms or the role of international institutions. I will discuss this further in chapter 5.

Learning about antiretroviral treatment
I asked Chantal what she thought was the most useful thing that she had learnt. She told me that

I feel more educated because when I went for the Treatment Literacy Programme it went on for a week. Wow, I felt like I had this power, I felt that I had more information than doctors had. It was things about scientific information, science about HIV/Aids, how globalisation influence us, every aspect, the developed countries, how, where do we stand as South Africa ... I felt educated I really felt more powerful, and that I saw myself sitting there with this major knowledge. After the Treatment Literacy Programme, when I went home, after the week course, I didn't know what I was sitting with until someone asked me one question, and when you started talking, you actually realise that, wow, I have this major information ... It made a major difference to me and when I had assignments being a student I could also relate...include that into my own perspectives when I had to write on my own opinion ... so it made a difference (Interview, 31 March 2006).

Many issues had caught Chantal's attention but she thought the most important thing was that she could share the information with others and incorporate the new knowledge into every aspect of her life. Chantal claimed to have learnt about treatment literacy but she said that she felt powerful and more educated once she started sharing the information with other people. She realised that she could contribute with her newly acquired knowledge to the community by passing on the message of treatment literacy.

4.12.2.5 Building a broad support base through networking

Commenting on the appreciation she acquired of how 'knowledge is power', Chantal spoke about her collective action in the TAC:

You need to be driven by something you know, where you come from or situations. Ja, you need to find people with the same interests, ja you can't do anything alone you know ... Ja, it [TAC] started out with just Zackie and Mark Heywood, and look what they are doing now, with different branches and everything ... we see what we can achieve with people with the same interests, ja. With knowledge, with power, ja, we have seen what we can achieve, I think it's just proven that the people, the communities is what makes the difference. It is what moulds the government (Interview, 31 March 2006).

From her activism in the TAC Chantal learnt about strategic action and that when standing together, people can forge change.

As a result of the R2W workshop on Womens Day, the women had established 'networks of women in the communities' so that they could 'support each other' and 'create strategies to fight

the violence' they were affected by. For example, they had formed 'groups of women', to avoid 'being alone' when leaving the house in the evening. Similarly, they had contacted a TAC clinic where they got free condoms that they in return would distribute to their 'sisters' (Journal, AIDC, Women's School, 27-30 September 2005, Melkbosstrand). Here, the women participants provided an example of strategic survival action. Another woman stated that at her father's funeral, she discovered that she had twenty-eight siblings from the father's various 'girlfriends'. She said she felt a sense of 'responsibility' for her 'new siblings' (Journal, AIDC Womens School, 27-30 September 2005, Melkbosstrand).

4.12.2.6 Learning to ask questions and look for contradictions

The participants claimed to have learnt 'skills' such as critical thinking. As I indicated earlier, one of the TAC participants noted that the government called TAC anti government or counter revolutionary whilst the HIV positive called TAC heroes and life savers. Several of the participants learned to ask questions and look for contradictions as they made revealing insights into power relations and imbalances. Taking issue with the government, Chantal had this to say:

> … the constitution ... wouldn't that make South African citizens ja, more powerful and more maybe, arrrch, I now have to talk about the government [laughter] but maybe the government don't want us to know too much. Ja, they want everything under control. The government want to control everything ... they want to shut down TAC because we are challenging the government ... By educating people from the rural areas, going there, and actually doing the government's job. Why is the government being against that when they [TAC] are helping something? They fear people being too educated ... because they need to have control (Interview, 31 March 2006).

In her view, lack of access to information was used as a tool to prevent people from taking action to realise their rights as citizens

From Hussein:

> If it [the South African government] was so transparent, would TAC then have such problems? ... you know ... like Mbeki said that he had never known anyone that dies of HIV/Aids... when the son of Mandela died last year ... I think Mbeki and Mandela are sitting by the same table ... Mbeki knows (Interview, 11 May 2006).

Both Chantal and Hussein pointed out problems related to power. Chantal pointed out contradictions between the constitution and what the government was actually doing. She said

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that the government was too controlling and that they wanted to close down TAC because TAC was challenging the government. Hussein criticised the government for lack of transparency and for being two-faced on the issue about HIV/Aids.

4.12.2.7 Learning about critical thinking, shifting perspectives and changing perceptions

From collective action and deliberate education the participants had developed critical consciousness and positive 'attitudes'. For some participants the leadership training had transformed their world view. Eugene noted that: 'As we go along [in the workshops] we hear different experiences, we can actually relate to each other' (Interview, 21 April 2006). From observation I had noted how some participants from different trade unions and companies clashed with each other in the workshops; on this note, building on solidarity, Eugene insisted,

> I will say that is positive criticism, we need to not actually disagree but at the end of the day I would like to see a solution to the problem and negotiations ... to understand each other's point of view ... .it is good to know what is going on in different sectors and to understand where they are coming from, why are they struggling and what can we do, and do we have the resources that they need or *visa* versa ... ja (Interview, 21 April 2006).

Thus, this is evidence that critical thinking shifting perspectives and challenging perceptions happened in the three organisations.

Chantal had this to say:

> We had debates ... on abortion because we were looking at religion and culture... there was one women that was HIV positive and her CD4 [cell account] really rapidly decreased and they had to abort her child ... and this one man said, 'No it's against my religion, my religion states that it is killing a human being'. You are forced to put yourself in that person's situation ... and things like that change your perspective on how you see things you know ... and we debated things you know ... we didn't just let it go by ... I didn't feel powerless. You feel liberated ja (Interview, 31 March 2006).

This speaks of the ability to see a scenario from different perspectives and being able to set aside differences and focus on commonalities.

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Being together in a workshop raises issues such as solidarity and empathy for other people and movements. At a COSATU workshop, a heated debate took place between the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU) members and other trade union members who accused POPCRU of being domineering. Non-POPCRU members demanded to know whether 'the police [are] workers like the rest of us?' Several of participants argued that the POPCRU members were 'not like other workers' since in times of strikes they play the role of the oppressor, supporting the state rather than being loyal to workers (Journal, COSATU, 23 February 2006, Salt River). Several participants spoke from their own experiences as 'workers' on the picket line, facing police 'violence' (Journal, COSATU, 23 February 2006, Salt River). The participants raised serious issues about class loyalty, forcing other shop stewards to take sides.

Craig learnt new things about the realities of unemployment in a workshop. He realised that he could make a difference by getting involved:

> One thing ... that particular day [at the shop steward training] there was a news conference taking place there, all the organisations of society, and Tony Ehrenreich held a conference ... I thought it was very interesting, it very much interacted how joblessness and unemployment is affecting our lives. Here I'm sitting here trying to help people save their jobs, people telling you what it is to be jobless, it really made me think, maybe I should be much more involved than I'm at the moment (Interview, 17 May 2006).

Participants from POPCRU referred to experiences of 'dangerous shootings' where they did not have the capacity to fight the criminals because they were facing restructuring in terms of capacity. This meant that they were 'overworked' because they did not have enough people at work. Also, they complained about police vehicles that were not secure enough when faced with armed robbers. Rhetorically, they asked: 'Who is responsible for that?' One of the POPCRU participants said: 'The state is responsible for employing enough police ... for paying us a decent wage ... and for provision of secure transport ... that is bulletproof'. Explaining that they sometimes got 'caught between cross fire', they complained that

> … the nature of our work forces us to stay single and without children because it does not fit in with our work to get married and to have children. This stops us from enjoying some of the rights of life such as for instance reproductive rights. Divorce rates in our work force are very high (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, Salt River).

4.12.2.8 Learning about class

Bongi said:

> Ja I think TAC has a large part of the working class in it. I know some people think that the working class is just those people who are employed but now we are even talking about people who are unemployed because they are able to work, and therefore they form a part of the working class and TAC has a lot of unemployed, young and old people, so that is why TAC could be qualified as a working-class movement and as it's been a social movement, TAC is exactly a bigger piece of the movement (Interview, 3 May 2006).

The view that TAC forms part of a broader 'working class' movement was deliberately facilitated by Matthew at the TAC leadership school (Journal, 8 July 2005, TAC). In other words, Bongi believes that TAC is a working class movement because it consists of many unemployed people that ordinarily would have formed part of the working class if one did not have a high level of unemployment. Therefore he thinks that TAC is an important part of the broader struggle for social justice for all. He believes that the struggle for the unemployed and employed is one.

4.12.2.9 Developing awareness about race, class and gender

Other participants reported that they had become more aware of issues related to race, class and gender, and were therefore more critically attuned to what was being said by other people, facilitators and the media. As one AIDC participant put it:

> … women are not treated in the same way as men, they are not treated as equals. People listen more to men, they vote for men, there are more men than women in leadership positions (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand).

Aware that their own consciousness could be repressive at times, some AIDC women participants noted that women also tend to 'vote for men' or 'expect men to speak', complaining that 'we as women are oppressed in our own oppression'. One of the facilitators argued that language, religion, family, work, class, culture and education could be used as tools for oppressing women, to which a Xhosa-speaking women replied that 'in Xhosa culture when a woman's husband dies she belongs to her late husband's brother' otherwise tradition requires that she or her family must 'pay back the *ilobolo*' (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand). A TAC participant commented: 'The man thinks he has the 'right' to sex

'whenever' in marriage – we need to fight this together as women' (Journal, TAC, 08 July 2005, TAC).

A facilitator asked, 'are there typical men's and women's jobs?'; 'what can *we* do to change discrimination against women in our society?' One of the participants said: 'One of the things that we can do as women is to unite when our husbands are abusing us or cheating on us. This also means that if our husband is unfaithful we must blame him and not the women. Some women hit the husbands' lover when the husband is the one at fault' (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand). Similarly, another women participant said: 'TAC doesn't even have many women in the top leadership. TAC top leadership consists mainly of Zackie Achmat, Mark Heywood and Nathan Griffin' (Journal, TAC, 8 July 2005, TAC). In COSATU, Sherrie said that the training gave people the necessary awareness of issues to become 'more assertive' around the issues at task (Interview, 22 February 2006). Chantal said, 'I felt confident to ask questions ... and ... to disagree', and added that facilitators seemed to 'appreciate' it (Interview, 31 March 2006). She felt that personal development helped her take on the responsibility of the leadership role.

The participants started to critically analyse and question inhumane working conditions such as dangers on the job, long hours that do not allow for private life. In response, trying to direct the debate into issues of power, the facilitator asked, 'What defines work?' Everybody answered, 'Pay'. The facilitator asked, 'Who defines work?' Participants replied, 'The bosses'; 'The economic market' (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, Salt River).

4.12.2.10 Learning about neoliberalism

Reflecting on his mother's long-term illness, Eugene spoke about how he came to see and speak about the problems of the 'privatisation of public services':

> Healthcare is very important, they [the government] must build more hospitals. They must stop privatising hospitals whereby you must have medical aid to be able to afford a certain type of treatment ... I do have experience of that system because my mother used to get up with me about 3 or 4 o clock in the morning and on my way to work I would drop her at the hospital, and at about 3 o clock she has not been helped yet, she is still waiting. This gives me a sore. It's not nice to see an old person like that. They must stop privatising the basic needs (Interview, 21 April 2006).

Here Eugene is linking his personal problems with a bad health care system to public issues such as economic policies.

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4.12.2.11 Learning about globalisation

Bongi stated:

> Because poor people are being robbed from their belonging, they are taught the very narrow picture ... there is a person on the street who only think that he is poor because he don't have a job or don't have money ... the reason why he don't have a job is something else ... it's because business is moving overseas to find cheaper labour ... also ... people have fear of the so called power mongers who want to control things to reach their particular objectives (Interview, 3 May 2006).

Thando spoke about his own difficult situation as 'unemployed'. He related unemployment to casual labour. Trying to explain 'casualisation', Thando spoke of 'the sister, that's my neighbour, she's got ten years almost [in the same company] ... she's a casual from that company, she is not permanent... the boss at any time can take you off work' (Interview, 26 March 2006). In TAC the link between unemployment was facilitated by Matthew from AIDC when he explained how privatisation of public services was linked to a decrease in public spending and public jobs (Journal, 08 July 2005, TAC). Sipho noted that 'we learn more about ... economics and politics' (Interview, 2 November 2005). Craig had learnt to differentiate between the social, cultural and economic aspects of globalisation. He noted that with 'the global thing' it was 'good' to meet people from different places because one gets 'to exchange with a different culture' and 'broaden the mind' but the 'neoliberal agenda' had a negative effect on workers with respect to working conditions and wages (Interview, 17 May 2006). Simphiwe told me that they learnt about 'globalisation', 'neoliberalism' and 'unemployment' (Interview, 30 November 2005). Gugulethu said that she learnt about 'OPEC' and 'neoliberalism' and what it means to 'be an activist', and the 'linkage between the two' (Interview, 18 April 2006).

Bongi suggested that citizens need to know more about 'the issues around trade laws and labour laws' and 'economic policies'. Rhetorically, he asked 'Why are they convinced the current economical policies are the best?' (Interview, 3 May 2006). Similarly, Bongi commented that citizens need to learn about 'globalisation' and 'the power of the working class' so that they can 'fight globalisation on their own terms'. He remarked that while he was still at school, 'I couldn't relate economy to my life', but now he had learnt to see things as 'connected' (Interview, 3 May 2006).

4.12.2.12 Learning to see individual problems as political and public issues

Thus, some of the participants claimed to have become more respectful and tolerant. In this way they were able to see possibilities for cooperation with other movements and organisations. Realising that they were not the only ones in need of a better health service, some participants started seeing the bigger picture as they learnt to see individual problems as political issues. This meant starting to see the link between local and global troubles. This process was deliberately facilitated by facilitators. What the participants learnt amounted to more than individual and personal empowerment. It shifted them in the direction of a critical understanding of the underlying causes of unemployment, unfair working conditions and the lack of a decent public health service. Their struggle for democracy was related to their right to live in dignity, which for them meant employment, fair working conditions and access to good public health care. Collective emancipation meant struggle directed at changing the system. This demanded solidarity on their part.

4.12.2.13 Learning to unlearn race prejudices

They experienced the power of information and experienced transformation through training and collective action. Having fought collectively for a national ART roll-out, Clinton told me, 'the motivation has kept me going'. For Clinton HIV was not a death sentence any longer. Practical 'experiences' had taught Candice and Clinton that people are 'all the same' no matter what group one belongs to. Hence, Candice and Clinton had started confronting racist attitudes from 'family' members and work colleagues. Passing on such messages beyond the organisations meant that that they had become active.

Candice said:

> The way I think about people, the way I see people. There is a lot of misconceptions, if I can say, about black [African] people. In the CWU there are a lot of powerful black people, and the person that I admire the most [at my workplace] is a black person and he is an excellent example (Interview, 10 May 2006).

> … you learn to work with them and know what their goals are and how they are, it's amazing. Sometimes you think that these people are not so educated but if you are actually in a meeting with them their views are sometimes more powerful than what my views are and they will sometimes give you clarity on things that you don't understand, so I really changed my thinking. To be a shop steward really changed me. You think that

you have a lot of problems but then you realize that the next person's issues are worse. You think yours are so small and theirs are so big (Interview, 10 May 2006).

In other words, Candice had changed through her activism as a shop steward. She had realised that in the bigger picture her problems were small. Candice noted how 'you can go to a black person and say that you are gonna strike' and 'they strike' but if 'you go to a coloured person and say you're gonna strike' 'they will just ask 'how much money is it gonna cost me ... look at how committed those people are, such a few, but I will stand by the few that are committed.' She also told me that she constantly found herself 'debating' racism with her sister 'at home'. Similarly, Clinton had mentioned earlier that he had previously thought that the TAC was full of 'black people *toyi-toying*'. He had been 'scared first' but his 'knowledge was broadened' and he had realised that 'it's not about the colour of your skin' or 'the language that you talk'.

4.12.2.14 Learning about substance abuse

Many of the participants had questions about drinking during work hours. One asked, 'what must I do when I see that one fellow worker is drunk at work?' (Journal, COSATU, 10 November 2005, COSATU). Another asked, 'how do I recognise if a worker is on drugs' (Journal, COSATU, 09 March 2006, COSATU)? Reflecting on his past, Eugene said

> I would go home and have one or two beers and sit with my wife and play with my kids, before I went to my friends to pubs or a *braai* [South African term for BBQ]. Then I would get home and there you would get the basic quarrel, the misunderstanding between you and your partner (Interview, 21 April 2006).

Describing his heightened sense of responsibility, he said 'So from this I have learnt that you stay with your wife and your family'. Eugene changed his drinking habits and noted that the workshop on substance abuse was 'definitely one of the things that helped' him. The political education and sharing of experiences with other participants impacted on Eugene's personal life. He added, 'where I stay in Mitchell's Plain there's a lot of substance abuse, *tik*, cocaine, it's on the streets, its available' (Interview, 21 April 2006).[66] Eugene said that he helped people at work and in his community to overcome substance abuse. I conducted the interview in his office. Whilst the interview went on, several people came to talk to him about substance abuse. Since he was

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[66] Tik is a very addictive drug that includes methamphetamine and is variously mixed with other lethal fluids such as rat poison, sulfur and anti-freeze.

busy being interviewed by me, he gave them information about where to find rehabilitation and councillors or helpline numbers. In his office, I also saw books on substance abuse that talked about 'how to deal with abuse'. He said that he also does this type of work in his community. He noted that the shop steward training on alcohol abuse had led him to deal with his own problematic alcohol habits. Similarly, one of the farm workers in COSATU said that 'information about substance abuse has helped me do preventive work with my own children and in my community' (Journal, COSATU, 10 November 2005, COSATU). She had indeed recruited another farm worker from the farm workers union to the shop steward training because she was interested in becoming a shop steward as well.

At the COSATU workshop, Eugene expressed his deep concern that, 'In my community there is a lot of drugs. Tik is everywhere. It's cheap, very addictive and very damaging'. Eugene spoke about his newly acquired ability to recognise signs of substance abuse:

> At the training, I learnt to identify the signs of a person who is using or abusing drugs. You can often see it on the persons' pupils and the way they might slobber when they speak, or you might notice mood changes such as signs of aggressiveness (Journal, COSATU, 09 March 2006, COSATU).

Next, I will discuss impediments to facilitating participation.

4.13 Limitations of the Education Programmes

There were problems in the three education programmes too, ranging from lack of discipline to follow-up, from insufficient funding to inadequate facilitation. The fact that the participants found it difficult to learn was related to structural factors, caused by the facilitators and the leadership in the organisations, such as: Making assumptions about prior knowledge; Giving too much information too quickly and sometimes at a level that was too hard; Not always encouraging participation (but allowing the same people to speak); Not practicing what they preach; Not allowing enough time for discussion and reflection; Intimidating behaviour; Educators were not educated to be educators; Lack of a clearly defined and shared understanding of what constitutes democracy; and Tensions between organisational commitment and facilitator intentions.

4.13.1 Lack of discipline

Marlon complained that some participants arrive at 'their own time' and 'leave throughout the day'. He suggested that 'COSATU and the affiliates' need to communicate so that they have an

'indication' of how many shop stewards will attend, and added that perhaps this would enhance 'timekeeping' and the right amount of 'workshop material' (Interview, 16 March 2006). To Lindile 'responsibility' and 'respect' also included that participants 'put up the hand' when they wanted 'to speak' (Journal, TAC, 19 August 2005, Salt River). Xolani noted that it is important to treat each other with 'respect' and not 'talk down at each other' (Journal, AIDC, January 30- February 1 2006, Bloubergstrand). According to Sherrie, one of the COSATU participants, some shop stewards needed to be more 'responsible' considering that they 'get paid' and have 'permission from the employer' and have 'committed' themselves to take knowledge back to the 'workplace' where 'workers' elected them (Interview, 22 February 2006).

4.13.2 Lack of support

Marlon explained,

> … we need to get our affiliates to understand that they got to build up a data base as to how many of their shop stewards have gone through the training. So there's gotta be a database about things, né ... We are going through a process where we are looking into the materials that we have used in the past and that we are using currently and then see what is the best (Interview, 16 March 2006).

COSATU believes that workers should 'control the structures and committees of the federation' and that they have 'programmes to develop worker leadership, especially women' within the trade unions. Looking at the poor attendance on topics such as gender based violence and HIV/Aids, I asked myself whether these issues were not prioritised by the various workplaces and trade unions. The workshop on 'Occupational, Environmental Health and Safety' facilitated by Industrial Health Research Group (IHRG) (20 October 2005) was meant to be on the HIV/Aids workplace programme. This was changed because there was minimal support for the topic from the various workplaces. Similarly, the workshop on 'World Aids Day' (1 December 2005) was cancelled because not enough people enrolled.

Initially, the workshop on 'Gender Based Violence (GBV) Against Women and Children – Sixteen Days of Activism' facilitated by COSATU (24 November 2005) was supposed to be basic shop steward training. As a concerted strategy the COSATU planners deliberately 'hijacked' the other workshop to get shop stewards, particularly males, to participate in a GBV workshop. It was confirmed that such a strategy was necessary when the workshop on 'Gender based violence and 16 days of activism campaign' (11 December 2005) designed specifically for the SADSAWU and the farm workers union Sikhula Sonke was cancelled because not enough people enrolled for it.

In TAC the initial plan was to have monthly workshops one Saturday a month but only three workshops actually took place. The first session that took place was the one on political economy in July 2005. After this they struggled to get going again. During this time, I was constantly informed as to what was happening or rather not happening. On 16 January 2006, I was invited to take part at a planning meeting for political education at the TAC office in Muizenberg. The meeting was cancelled at the last minute. This partly reflects difficulties in organising and funding for the Leadership School because it was not prioritised from top leadership level. The workshops were cancelled more than once and other things such as for example a picket would take place instead. The organising behind the workshops were not great. For example, 23 August 2005, I turned up for a workshop but there was no one there and I ended up going to the TAC court case of a HIV positive TAC member who was raped and then murdered when the attackers realised that she was HIV positive.

- By May 2006 only three of the envisaged TAC workshops had materialised. These workshops addressed what were understood to be the most critical issues:
- *Political economy (AIDC)* (Globalisation, Neoliberalism, International institutions)
- *Media (TAC)* (The role of the media; How can TAC make use of the media?)
- Rights (University of the Western Cape, The Law Department) (The Constitution, TRIPS)

Although some funding was allocated to cover venues, food and stationery for the event one would stop short of saying that the leadership school workshops, in this instance, had fully-committed and energetic support from TAC leadership.

4.13.3 Lack of funding

In the AIDC, funding difficulties caused several of the workshops to be postponed. Indeed, the R2W launch itself, a central part of the R2W campaign, originally scheduled for March 2006, was postponed to June 2006 (Journal, AIDC, January 30- February 1 2006, Bloubergstrand). Depending on availability and expense, the workshops took place at different hotels with conference facilities in and around Cape Town, such as for example Bloubergstrand and Melkbosstrand.[67]

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[67] The LCO training received funding for accommodation, travel expenses, food and stationery from the AIDC. The accommodation and catering was of good quality as the AIDC managed to

Marlon noted that 'COSATU Western Cape is the only province that provides shop steward training ... and we have been doing that now for the past five years' (Interview, 16 March 2006). The training receives no funding and is free of charge. COSATU faced challenges related to the fact that there was no funding for the education. It could have been more comfortable if resources such as stationery and computers were available, or if the venue had been totally separate and closed off from the other COSATU offices and if lunch had been provided. On the other hand, I asked myself if the basic conditions attracted more committed participants. Yet, I cannot suggest that participants attending workshops under more comfortable circumstances are less committed. The quality of the workshop is not about the space where the workshop takes place but about the actual content, the facilitation and the follow up process. Marlon noted that

> Well, I mean in COSATU ... one of our problems is that whatever funding has been... we get our funding through the affiliate, the subs, né ... a lot of that is ploughed into what others may think are priority areas you know, so that funding has been sitting at head office and has been used for running the federation. It's been used for doing all sorts of things but as far as we in the education department and in the federation we have also identified the fact that there isn't enough education being done, and specifically in COSATU (Interview, 16 March 2006).

4.13.4 Communication challenges

There is some evidence that facilitators consciously considered process and how to make the learning easier and more accessible. Lindile insisted that the participants could speak in any language and that translation would be provided. Marlon explained 'sometimes we have problems with people not understanding the terminology that we use'. For this reason, he said: COSATU 'gives people the opportunity to speak in their own mother tongue' (Interview, 16 February 2006).

In one of the workshops I noted that some of the new participants in COSATU were very hesitant to speak up and to ask questions. The seasoned shop stewards, on the other hand, eagerly answered most questions 'demonstrating' personal knowledge and experience (Journal, COSATU, 20 April 2006, Salt River). Marlon worried this might 'put others off asking questions' (Interview, 16 March 2006). Marlon would therefore intentionally 'ignore them' in order to 'allow other people to participate'. He found it difficult 'to strike that balance'. Marlon added that shop

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find low peak prices for all venues. Everything was provided free of charge for the R2W activists, as most of them were unemployed.

stewards might not feel like responding because they were not confident they would do it in a 'correct way'. In my observations of facilitators across the three organisations, all exhibited confident body language and kept up regular eye contact with the participants.

Across the organisations, the facilitators used 'ice breakers' at the beginning of each workshop. At the AIDC Women's School one of the ice breaker sessions relied on wrong assumptions about what the facilitators regarded to be prior knowledge (Journal, AIDC Womens School, 27-30 September 2005, Melkbosstrand). The facilitator began by giving participants the names of various apartments where they would stay. These were named after famous national and international feminist activists such as Fatima Meer and Rosa Luxembourg. In the ice breaker session, participants were asked to mention one Marxist-feminist woman – which, it turned out, none of them were able to do (even though one of the sponsor organisations funding the programme was named after the political philosopher Rosa Luxembourg, and they had been introduced to the organisation by a Rosa Luxembourg representative at the beginning of the workshop). When the answer (that is, Rosa Luxembourg) was pointed out to the participants, their reply was: 'but that's an NGO'. That some of the facilitators had themselves been 'struggle' era activists may explain their overestimation of what other people could reasonably be expected to know. Yet participants were familiar with other intellectual leaders such as Karl Marx and Steve Biko (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand).

4.13.5 Language issues

It became apparent that one of the reasons for lack of participation was the language of instruction - English. Lindile identified 'problems' such as 'apartheid education' and English as second language: '[one] important factor is our apartheid past and its education system' (Journal, TAC, 02 September 2005, TAC). Some of the participants struggled with the content because of the struggle that their defective formal education had been for them in the first place back in the days of Bantu Education. Related was their difficulty with English, set against their right to use their mother tongue.

During a TAC workshop, one of the TAC participants felt powerful enough to disagree with Lindile. Before the session started she insisted on ground rules such as 'democracy', 'respect', '100% participation', 'responsibility', 'accountability' and the choice to 'speak in any language' that was 'comfortable' to the participants. Towards the end of the session, Lindile suggested said that people should speak English to avoid time-consuming translations but the participants insisted, 'it's our right to speak in our language' and 'we must practice democracy' (Journal, TAC leadership school, 8 July 2005, Salt River). Power was not only seen as an outside enemy but it was also fought within TAC.

AIDC participants came from provinces all over the country. They spoke Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, Tswana and Sotho as their home language. COSATU and TAC participants spoke mainly Afrikaans and Xhosa as their mother tongue. Language is a means through which knowledge is articulated. Some participants commented that this affected 'if' they spoke, 'how' they spoke and 'what' knowledge they might have been able to articulate (Personal communication, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand). Some participants noted that it is the 'same people' that speak up most of the time because others may 'not feel confident' enough to speak English. To me this was an indication that the problem for these participants was the difficulty of processing and articulating knowledge in English rather than simply a 'lack of confidence'.

Lindile noted that the TAC had previously focused on 'quantity' rather than 'quality' with respect to the selection of participants for the workshops. One reason for this, he said, was that the 'organisers' of the TAC workshops were not involved in the 'selection of people to attend'. Lindile noted that another 'problem' was the constant influx of 'new faces' that were unable to 'understand what was discussed in the last session'. This posed a challenge for facilitators and participants alike because they constantly had to 'recap' issues to ensure that everybody had understood (Interview, 23 March 2006). In fact, this was an issue in all three organisations. Eventually, however, the disparity between 'new' and 'old' participants tended to even out as the workshops proceeded.

4.13.6 Lack of patience

Some AIDC participants told me that there were times they would 'pretend' to understand the issues whilst they did not always understand. They told me that they did this because they sometimes felt 'stupid' asking questions during the workshops (Personal communication, AIDC, Jan 30 –Feb 01 2006, Bloubergstrand). The facilitators were aware of this problem. Matthew said: 'Maybe it's me and Xolani's fault. But when we ask you if you understand and you say yes, we believe you. But it is clear to me that there is confusion here. Please be open and honest with us otherwise we will all suffer' (Journal, AIDC, Jan 30 –Feb 01 2006, Bloubergstrand). So why was it that the participants still found it hard to explain globalisation and neoliberalism when I asked them to? The facilitators constantly encouraged the participants to ask questions but this defeated the objective because often they did not provide the appropriate environment and time necessary for them to ask questions. The content was sometimes too difficult, inputs were too long, and the process was not participatory enough.

In an earlier input John had claimed that facilitators and participants ought to be treated with equal respect because both parties are 'experts' with important 'knowledge'. Yet, in an input

called: 'How the campaign is going: a critique', he disrespected fellow facilitators and participants. Frustrated, he criticised both facilitators and participants for having taken 'too long' and as a result for having 'failed' to 'kick off' the campaign. Setting out to arouse feelings, he went on a rampage protesting that 'there is nothing worse than launching a campaign when you don't have the army for it'. Implicitly, he blamed participants for their inability to learn and to build the campaign. John lost his temper and took it out on the participants and his fellow co-workers. He showed that he had lost his belief in the participants' ability to both run the campaign and to learn.

Matthew's response was, 'I think we have come a long way. Rome was not built in one day. This does not mean that we should be uncritical of ourselves. It is therefore crucial that we work together on the campaign to make it work'. Senzeni replied: 'We have held many meetings in Welkom with the unions and other CBOs. We are winning support. It will take time' (AIDC, Journal, 31 January–01 February 2006, Bloubergstrand). Failing to stir up the mood, John then kept quiet.

4.13.7 Sexism

In the AIDC, some male participants constantly interrupted the female participants. Matthew's respond to interruption was: 'You are out of order comrade. Such attitudes are not acceptable in the R2W'. He insisted that they should 'lead by example' and 'practice what they preach' regarding 'women's rights', otherwise 'other comrades won't listen to you' (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand). He constantly encouraged female participants to answer the questions. For example he asked: 'What is sectarianism?' Then he said: 'Aziza, please tell us what you think it is, and maybe you could think about an experience you had with sectarianism' (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand). Committed to a balance between female and male participation, Matthew ensured that the female participants expressed their views without further interruption. But Matthew could only exercise his power or authority in the workshop.

The AIDC women participants were discriminated against by some male participants that would constantly interrupt them whilst talking and 'chasing' them as sexual objects day and night at the workshops. In fact, one incident at the AIDC Women's School, that, for me, confirmed the importance of equal numbers of male and female participants was when during a lunch break a large group of female participants started whistling at a man who was one of the kitchen staff, humiliating him in the same way that they had been humiliated at previous workshops by male participants (Journal, AIDC Womens School, 27-30 September 2005, Melkbosstrand).

4.13.8 Challenges with coming to terms with feminist ideas

At times, inability or unwillingness to act on insights suggested that the subject matter at hand had, in fact, not been fully grasped. This suggested tension between understanding ideas and concepts, and being able to translate these into practice. Some AIDC and TAC male participants knew the 'right things' to say regarding 'women's empowerment'. Yet, in both organisations, I observed on different occasions that they would interrupt when female participants spoke. At a TAC workshop one of the male participants told the women to 'take a back seat' (Journal, TAC, 19 August 2005, TAC).

One of the AIDC female participants noted that 'women are often just involved instead of being leaders in the movements'. Senzeni asked, 'Why do women allow it to happen?' to which a female participant retorted, 'Why do men do it to women?' Instantly, male and female views came in conflict. With feelings already running high, a male participant replied: 'Women are oppressed and they have to sleep their way to the top because they are pressurised to do so'. This comment caused great outrage amongst the female participants, who became increasingly vocal. In defence, a female participant insisted that 'not all women sleep their way to the top' (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand).

Forced to confront his assumptions about women, the male participant tried to explain that he did not mean that 'all women did sleep their way to the top' but that some 'did so' because it would be the 'easiest way' for them 'to get to the top'. To avoid further conflict he posed the rhetorical question: 'How do we make women's struggle a class struggle?' (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand). At the TAC leadership workshop, Matthew asked: 'Why is it not men who mainly sell their bodies?' A TAC participant responded that

> It has to do with the way we are brought up and traditionally. The men had to go and work while women were at home. Women were not valued in the same way as men. It [prostitution] is also said to be the oldest profession (Journal, TAC, 08 July 2005, TAC).

In order to explain the question the participant reflected on her own life experiences and situated problems such as prostitution in the broader historical context of 'labour migration' where the women were left at home whilst their husbands had to leave the home in search of work elsewhere (Journal, TAC, 08 July 2005, TAC). Inherent sexism also resulted in less participation on the part of the women participants.

4.13.9 Not enough participation

The facilitation *process* was not participatory enough. Some AIDC participants commented that there was 'too many' inputs that were 'too long'. The participants noted that there was not enough space in the workshops for them to 'ask questions', think and 'debate', and build an argument or provide answers. In practice, this meant less time for dialogue and processes of critical thinking. When asking a question as a facilitator one has to allow sufficient time for the participants to be able to provide answers. The facilitators did not make sufficient time to wait for answers.

4.13.10 Not enough follow-ups on report-backs

In AIDC the facilitators made sure that the follow up to the report-backs was incorporated into the workshops. It was evident in the participants' presentations that they had taken the information to their R2W branches and to trade unions such as COSATU. This was cross-checked by the facilitators because they also stayed in touch with the various R2W branches and the local COSATU organisers. In this way the facilitators got feedback on what the R2W organisers were doing. In the AIDC follow ups on the report backs were integrated as part of group work and presentations. Such a follow up process needed to be put in place in COSATU and TAC also.

From my observation of the COSATU workshops it was obvious that most of the shop stewards did not do report-backs at their workplaces. However, some of the participants started to 'spread the word' by expressing responsibility in different ways. Eugene explained how he had learnt to assist people with substance problems:

> I can actually interact with people that are very close to me or friends, from young age, people will come there by me and have an informal discussion ... and at work I can identify a person who is using or abusing drugs, then we will have a chat about it, and I will show them some book and information or facts to him, or she [laughter], because it can be a she also. I understand confidentiality and I can get them on a programme and we can just do it at this office [pointing to the computer and to the books], and I will follow it up and if the person enjoy our meeting then I will ask them to come on a certain day, then we will meet here and I will prepare for it (Interview, 21 April 2006).

However, the COSATU facilitators did not have a routine of doing follow-ups to ensure that such report-backs actually took place. It turned out that only 4 out of 30 had done report-backs to fellow shop stewards when asked by the facilitator (Journal, COSATU, 24 November 2005, COSATU). 'Passing on the message' beyond the organisations would mean that that they had

become active and critical thinking citizens, and more socially responsible. Apart from Eugene, Chardonnay, Sauvignon and Candice there was little evidence of this.

Although COSATU facilitators often advised participants to have report-back meetings with fellow shop stewards at their workplaces they sometimes neglected, or forgot, to give this advice to new participants and impress upon them that it was important for them to pass on what they were learning to the broader union membership. When, from time to time, facilitators asked participants whether they had given report-backs, it often turned out that they had not. Observation and interviewing told me that, for the most part, the two participants Candice and Eugene were the only shop stewards who took their report-back responsibilities seriously. Candice, Craig and Eugene were the only participants that during the interviews referred to the report-backs that they held at their workplace for fellow shop stewards. In fact, they were the only ones that referred to such report-backs in the COSATU workshops. I also noted on different occasions when I tried to make arrangements for interviews that Candice, Craig and Eugene were often busy, even during their lunch breaks, because they were doing report-back meetings for the various groups of shop stewards.

4.13.11 Struggling to explain issues of globalisation

The participants struggled to explain issues of globalisation abstractly when I asked them. Yet, they had learnt to recognise issues of globalisation and neoliberalism, and could describe how it affected them. University student Chantal explained that the TAC facilitators made 'examples' that she could relate to and that they 'simplified difficult issues'.

Like Chantal, Gugulethu and Simphiwe, many participants across the organisations claimed to have learnt about globalisation but none were able to explain the term when I asked them. I wanted to find out if this was true. As part of the interviews I asked the participants to explain globalisation and neoliberalism using their own words. None of them managed to explain it in detail using their own words. Several of them said: 'I sort of know what it means but I can't really explain it'. Simphiwe said 'globalisation is difficult to explain ... I can't explain it for you ... although I kind of know what it means' (Interview, 30 November 2005). It seemed that their ability to explain such concepts was reduced to sloganeering. Significantly this was the first political education event Simphiwe had ever attended although he is one of the key activists in the Abahlali baseMjondolo in Durban. First of all, there existed a possibility that they felt scared by me challenging their knowledge. This possibility was discarded however, when they managed to explain issues such as sectarianism and united front in detail using their own words rather than sloganeering.

In fact, if the main issues were to develop an active and critically thinking new layer of leadership, the participants did not actually need in-depth knowledge on globalisation and intellectual leaders to become more active and critical thinking citizens. In-depth knowledge on such subjects could be taught at a later stage. All of this compromised time and therefore the facilitation process. Yet, critical pedagogy is not only about learning to become critical of the state and capitalist concepts. Critical pedagogy should unsettle the assumptions that we take for granted, and lead to considerable personal, as well as social and political change. The participants experienced personal changes and development as they learnt to: present the organisation and campaign; run the campaign; develop women leadership; develop non-sectarian attitudes; develop solidarity; understand different perceptions; understand substance abuse; develop awareness; see HIV/Aids as a political / public issue; understand international institutions; understand antiretroviral treatment; understand constitutional rights; understand rights in the workplace; understand health and safety in the workplace.

4.14 Conclusion

In chapter 1 I referred to the Washington Consensus that has influenced the neoliberal paradigm, as well as the GEAR policy in South Africa. In all three programmes the Washington Consensus (that is, privatisation and market liberalisation) was the main focus of workshop facilitation and literature. The data shows that all the facilitators in the three organisations have similar outlooks on both purpose and process in non-formal education. Broadly, they all believe that issues that individuals often considered to be private problems, such as poverty, HIV/Aids, unemployment and unfair labour issues are in fact public matters which require collective solutions through collective action. They all intended to develop political consciousness and affect economic, political and social transformation through collective action. The facilitators had high goals. How does this compare to the participants' interests and needs?

The participants claimed to have learnt about skills such as building the campaign. This involved: speaking to the public; transmitting information to fellow citizens; critical awareness. They said that they had learnt about 'race' and solidarity from collective action. It seemed that they found it easier to explain issues that were close to their hearts such as alcoholism and its effects, sectarianism and a united front approach. Many participants changed their outlook on life in various ways. Did they become more active? They had learnt to reflect on their own experiences but did they think critically? Having outlined what the participants claim to have learnt, the next chapter will answer these questions.

It seemed that the participants had learnt to reflect on their own experiences but that they still had a way to go in terms of critical thinking. In chapter 5 I suggest that the reason for this was a highly ambitious choice of content as well as a failure in facilitating participatory education. The primary and secondary data collected in chapter four has shown that the participants in the various organisations have learned to ask critical questions and that some of them can apply the knowledge in their work place and in their community. However, to what extent did they do so? In chapter 5, I will analyse how they apply their insights on, for example, 'race' and 'ethnic' identity. In chapter 5, I link the leadership workshops to the broader topic of citizenship and further explore how this builds citizenship.

Chapter 5

Analysis

5.1 Introduction

Democracy, citizenship, rights and responsibilities are all themes that lie at the heart of contemporary South African political debate. Post-1994, HRD and ABET became the focus of national education policy but 'progressive adult education in South Africa has always aligned itself with social action' (von Kotze, 1998, p. 151). Considering that South Africa had a strong tradition of non-formal political and popular education in the past, I intended to find out whether there existed any non-formal citizenship education in Cape Town at present. My study is important because it does not only highlight the prevalence of non-formal education, but in addition thereto presents an in-depth investigation focusing on non-formal education for building civil society in Cape Town.

Chapter 4 of this thesis presented the field-work findings on three non-formal education initiatives in support of unemployed people, (AIDC), shop stewards (COSATU), and HIV-positive people (TAC). All three initiatives set out to develop an active and critically thinking new layer of leadership that would reinforce civil society campaigns for the right to work, fair working conditions and a respectable public health service. In this chapter, however, I will answer my three research questions, namely: How do selected organisations in post apartheid South Africa go about developing active or critical [critically thinking] citizens?; What is it that people need to learn to become active or critical [critically thinking] citizens and how do they learn it?; What are facilitators' and participants' understanding of 'citizen' in post-1994 South Africa?

Considering that all the facilitators interchangeably referred to the education as popular and political education, and the fact that I was searching for citizenship education, I had to then decide whether the education provided can be characterised as popular education or citizenship education. As I will explain and amplify later on in this chapter, the education provided fits the popular education criteria in terms of intentionality. Did the facilitators manage to make the process one of popular education? If so, the participants' would learn to struggle. Or was it possible that the participants' struggle to learn hindered the process of them learning to struggle? As I will further explain later on in this chapter, there are numerous indications that this was indeed the case. The participants' were struggling to explain the subject matter and struggling to put theories into practice amongst other things. Based on this I will argue that the participants

were struggling to learn due to a overtly ambitious content, lack of participation in the facilitation process and other constraints such as inherent sexism, and the fact that many of the participants were victims of Bantu Education.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned short falls, the participants claimed to have become more active, both in their organisations and beyond, as well as more critically thinking as a result of joining the organisations education programmes. Despite the shortfalls mentioned above, there was evidence that the participants were learning to struggle. Notwithstanding that the organisations had little or no funding, lack of support from the leadership in their organisations, there was evidence that the participants were learning to struggle. The participants became *activated* in their citizen role but not necessarily *critically* so. This is potentially dangerous because people may act on other people's beliefs (in this particular context that is, the beliefs of the facilitators or other participants) rather than critically evaluating their own ideas or other people's actions before they elect to put their force behind such actions. This is why I argue that critical citizenship education is so important. Such education aims to develop critically thinking citizens and not just active citizens.

5.2 A Summary of the Three Education Programmes

5.2.1 Insights

5.2.1.1 The three organisations

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) (Republic of South Africa, 1996) states that people should be given the opportunity to live a life in dignity. Since 1996, citizens have shown that when rights to access basic services are compromised by the government, people can turn apathetic and sometimes violent. One of my research questions asked: How do selected organisations in post apartheid South Africa go about developing active or critical [critically thinking] citizens? I came across two non-profit organisations and one trade union confederation with a strong purpose of developing active and critical [critically thinking] people that could form part of a new leadership. Considering many people's disillusionment with respect to lack of service delivery, the three organisations and their facilitators, aimed to build a 'better world'. For this purpose, the facilitators thought it pertinent to build a strong and independent civil society.

Given this, the AIDC aimed to build a movement for unemployed people. COSATU wanted to build a new layer of shop stewards in the trade union movement. TAC planned to build a people's health movement. They all aimed to do so through grassroots and bottom-up network

based modes of organisation that operated in local communities. The three programmes demonstrated an impulse of what citizenship education can look like in civil society organisations in Cape Town. To this date, there exists no other extensive study on present non-formal citizenship education in South Africa. Hence, my study offers new insights into the educational experience of activists involved in three distinct organisations in Cape Town.

5.2.1.2 The facilitators

The facilitators were active in civil society and some of them had been anti-apartheid activists. The facilitators sometimes worked across the three organisations and they worked together on issues of commonality. They saw it as their challenge to change society and put focus on issues such as unemployment, working conditions and a public health service. In chapter 4 I highlighted that the facilitators' purpose was: to facilitate an understanding between the connections between social ills and public issues; to change the system; to develop a 'new layer' of leadership; and to develop women leadership. As part of a strategy, the facilitators thought it was important to: build relationships with participants and other activists; learn from dialogue; build on participants' experiences; develop a culture of reading; develop reflective thinking; and develop critical awareness. According to the facilitators, a citizen ought to take part in decision-making and help shape the political landscape of the country. On their part, this required citizens that assume agency by acting on their constitutional rights, challenging current laws and policies by asking critical questions, and taking the necessary collective organised action to forge social, political and economic change.

5.2.1.3 The participants

The participants were people with a commitment to change. They did not do this self-consciously as 'citizens' (because they saw themselves as activists, socialists, unemployed or HIV positive people) but from a deep sense of social justice (because they wanted to change the world, uplift the poor, the unemployed people, the working class, and better the life of HIV positive people). Many of the participants came from impoverished backgrounds with little education and many formed part of the 'lost generation', as I outlined in chapter 1. Most of the participants in AIDC were unemployed. The COSATU participants were employed people fighting for better wages and safe working conditions. Nevertheless, they faced the risk of retrenchments, in particular those working in the textile industry. They also suffered from the unemployment crisis, having to support their unemployed family members. Most of the TAC participants were HIV positive, many of them unemployed, were campaigning for a better public health service. The participants thought it was important to learn about: critical consciousness; constitutional rights; government; people: races and classes; campaigning skills; responsibilities; and unity.

5.2.2 Conclusions on chapter four findings

Like the facilitators, the participants aimed to build a better world. To both, facilitators and participants, this process involved developing a new layer of leadership that were active and able to think critically. The facilitators, however, thought it important that the participants also develop knowledge on globalisation, neoliberalism and political economy. Thus, the facilitators aimed to teach the participants about global capitalism. The participants, on the other hand, were more interested in learning about their constitutional rights and enhancing their campaigning skills needed to run their organisations and campaigns, that is, local concerns rather than global.

5.3 Is it Citizenship Education?

I asked if the programmes could be defined as citizenship education. I chose to look for citizenship education because it is a prominent topic internationally and the term is widely used by politicians and the likes in South Africa as well. Despite the fact that the facilitators did not characterise the education as citizenship education, my study has found that there is citizenship education in Cape Town today that follows the tradition of political and popular education in the past. Clearly, the programmes aimed to elevate quality of citizenship, even though the facilitators did not claim to offer 'citizenship education' as such. Much of the data also hinges on the participants self-definition of what constitutes a citizen or in the language of the participants, an 'activist'. Based on what Coare and Johnston (2003) claim about popular education being an important tool for learning for active citizenship, I will however, argue that this education could be characterised as citizenship education. Hence, what I suggest here is a new definition of citizenship education as popular education.

5.3.1 Citizen versus subject

Crick (2000) contends that the subject obeys the laws by paying their taxes and obeying the overall rules governing the country. Essentially, the concept of a subject is an outcome of representative democracy. The citizen, on the other hand, plays an active role in challenging such rules and developing new ones – this is in essence an outcome of participatory democracy. Participatory democracy strives to create opportunities for all people in society to make meaningful contributions to decision-making, and seeks to broaden the range of people who have access to such opportunities.

In South Africa, the RDP highlighted the limits of representative democracy and promoted the idea of participatory and direct democracy based on a vigorous and empowered civil society. In

South Africa today, however, democracy is primarily a method of political representation that includes regular voting procedures, free elections, parliamentary and judicial systems free from the control of the executive, the predominance of individual rights over collective rights, and freedom of speech. With such a context in mind, one of my research questions asked: What is the understanding of 'citizen' in post 1994? In chapter 2 I also asked: Are citizens people who can recite the constitution or people who can explain and challenge it? To help me answer my research question above, I draw on Inglis (1997) who contends

> … empowerment involves people developing capacities to act successfully within the existing system and structures of power, while emancipation concerns critically analyzing, resisting and challenging structures of power (p. 4).

In the view of Inglis (1997), 'empowerment' broadly refers to economic empowerment and participation in formal politics whilst 'emancipation' paints the picture of a 'critically thinking citizenry' that participate in popular politics. In the context of my study, the three organisations aimed to develop critical thinking people who actively would fight for their constitutional rights. AIDC claimed their constitutional right to a life in dignity by building an unemployed peoples movement and campaigning for job creation. COSATU shop stewards campaigned for better wages and decent working conditions. TAC claimed their constitutional right to a life in dignity by building a peoples health movement and campaigning for a decent public health service. The participants' were not familiar with the language of citizenship education.

To Xolani, a good leadership was synonymous with people who were 'activist' orientated and 'reflective' (Interview, 18 February 2006, AIDC). Marlon aimed to build a layer of shop stewards that were able to question issues (Interview, 16 March 2006). Similarly, Lindile thought it important to build 'grassroots intellectuals' that can take collective action (Interview, 23 March 2006). Participants such as Aziza, Carlos, Chantal, Hussein and Toni (above) contended that people need to become more active and learn to think critically. To the participants, this involved: develop critical consciousness; learn about the constitution; learn about the government; and learn about people: races and classes. Besides such knowledge, the participants, much like the facilitators, wanted to: develop leadership and develop skills and knowledge to build the campaign and organisation. Most of the participants wanted to enhance their ability to do the job.

The participants variously identified themselves as unemployed, workers, HIV positive, socialists, youth and women. What they had in common was that they all referred to themselves as 'activists'. The participants did not identify themselves as citizens as such. They regarded themselves to be activists with citizenship rights. In practice, this meant: the right to act if

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constitutional rights are not fulfilled. Without using the exact 'language' of citizenship education the participants indirectly saw themselves as *citizens* rather than *subjects*. Back to my research question, the facilitators and the participants thought it was important that citizens were active and critical [critically thinking].   Hence, the facilitators and the participants had a similar understanding of what constitutes a citizen. Given the aforementioned, *citizens* are people who understand the constitution, know how to challenge it, as well as how to put it to use. In return, this requires people that are able to think critically, challenge the status *quo,* and take progressive collective action for change.

As a further matter, Coare and Johnston (2003) allege that popular education is an important tool for learning for active citizenship.

5.4 Popular Education

Previously (in the introduction to the facilitators in chapter 4) I had hinted that all the facilitators categorised the workshop as 'popular' and 'political' education. In this context, I understood the term 'popular education' to denote an explicitly political form of non-formal education that seeks to build on learners' reality and uses a participatory approach to teaching and learning. Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999) emphasise that

> … popular education is based on a clear analysis of the nature of inequality, exploitation
> and oppression and is informed by an equally clear political purpose. This has nothing to
> do with helping the "disadvantaged" or the management of poverty; it has everything to
> do with the struggle for a more just and egalitarian order (p. 4).

To define popular education I used the Scottish definition of popular education because it is the most political one. Martin's three defining characteristics of popular education (1999, p. 4) was my starting point, therefore I will take up each of these three characteristics in the course of scrutinising content and process in the various training programmes. Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999) define popular education as: rooted in the real interests and struggles of ordinary people; overtly political and critical of the *status quo; and* committed to progressive social and political change (p. 4).

In other words, popular education always sides with the oppressed and it is committed to progressive action. This is distinct from 'helping' the oppressed. Rather, popular education aims to support ordinary people in their struggles for greater social justice. Whilst Freire argues that it is important that people take 'their history into their hands', Horton says 'I've been more

concerned with structural changes than I have been with changing the hearts of people' (Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 97,103).[68] Similarly, Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999) claim that education is not only important for personal development, but also for social advancement.

Therefore, I asked: 'Could the education provided by the three organisations be characterised as popular education in the sense in which Martin defines it? Likewise, the main concerns for all three organisations were political, economic and social change rather than personal development. All the facilitators wanted a 'better world' – full employment, fair labour laws, a respectable public health service, greater socio-economic equality – and saw their contribution as part of a strategy to develop an 'active' and 'critically thinking' new layer of 'leadership'. Across the organisations, facilitators used popular-education terminology such as 'participatory education', 'experiential learning', 'reflective learning', 'critical thinking', as strategies for 'collective action', to achieve 'social change'. The facilitators made big claims and set themselves high goals. The facilitators did indicate willingness and commitment to participatory processes rooted in ordinary people's experiences. Yet, big ideas and claims present a challenge.

Rooted in the real interests and struggles of ordinary people
Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999) insist that popular education should be 'rooted in the real interests and struggles of ordinary people'; subject matter should derive from the experiences of the participants, involving issues that are close to their own concerns (p. 4). In terms of the three education programmes, facilitators' ability to build on participants' own experiences would necessitate a participatory approach in the way facilitators intervened to steer the course to keep the subject matter close to the participants' most immediate and strongly felt priorities. The level of participation by course attendees depended on the facilitators' capacity to build on participants' experiences and encourage engagement and dialogue.

The facilitators wanted the participants to learn about activism (activist skills), critical thinking, globalisation and neoliberalism amongst other issues. The facilitators aimed to 'assist' participants in the learning process rather than 'teaching' them about a certain topic. Facilitators such as Xolani, Marlon and Lindile referred to themselves as 'educator' and 'facilitator', rather than 'teacher'. They wanted participants' to 'reflect on their experiences' and explain the issues 'using their own words'. For participants in the three Western Cape programmes, work opportunities, working conditions and public health services topped the list of concerns. I found participants with a vision of running successful campaigns that could place their issues in focus

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[68] For further details on this subject, see Horton & Freire (1990).

and in effect help them forge change. The facilitators built on the experiences of the participants, with respect to the following topics:

- unemployment
- substance abuse
- violence against women
- sectarianism
- neoliberalism

5.4.1 Rooted in participants' struggles with unemployment

Many of the AIDC and TAC members were unemployed. COSATU members, on the other hand, were affected by unemployment in that they had unemployed family members that were dependent on their income. The AIDC screened a documentary on unemployment in South Africa that showed how unemployment is linked to socio-economic problems that in return, breed social problems. One of the AIDC facilitators Matthew stated: 'Unemployment is like a virus – that 'eats away on our community'. John pointed out that 'beggars could be regarded as employed' in the latest government definition of unemployment. This was followed by a discussion in which the participants shared their personal experiences with unemployment. Matthew repeated this sentiment at the TAC workshop (Journal, TAC, 8 July 2005, Salt River).

Matthew linked the unemployment crisis to exacerbated xenophobia whereby people blame foreign nationals for high unemployment rather than the fact South Africa is experiencing job losses due to neoliberal polices (Journal, AIDC, 31 January – 01 February 2006, Bloubergstrand). In COSATU, the COSATU general secretary spoke about how the unemployment crisis, largely exacerbated by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy, is affecting workers and unemployed people. Therefore, he urged all workers to unite behind the unemployed people because employed people faced the risk of entrenchments, in particular people in the textile industry in the Western Cape (Journal, COSATU, 10 November 2005, COSATU). Hence, the facilitators in the three organisations built on the participants experiences with unemployment.

5.4.2 Rooted in participants' struggles with substance abuse

The AIDC facilitators did not teach the participants about substance abuse as such. However, the facilitators and the participants debated 'the evil circle' of poverty, unemployment, violence, crime, prostitution and substance abuse. Thus, the AIDC facilitators argued that substance abuse was exacerbated by unemployment, and hence, linked to violence against women and

children. The AIDC woman participants confirmed such sentiments (Journal, AIDC, Women's School, 27-30 September 2005, Melkbosstrand).

The COSATU facilitators thought substance abuse was such an important issue that they spent two workshops addressing the topic. Marlon noted that 'the apartheid regime' used drugs to 'to suppress the struggle and the opposition'. The COSATU facilitator built on his own experiences when he spoke about his 'father' who was an 'alcoholic'. This helped the COSATU participants, particularly women, to open up and speak about their personal lives living with partners who were alcoholics. They told the rest of the participants how they suffered because alcoholism added pressure to an already strained financial situation, in addition to an increase in abuse (Journal, COSATU, 10 November 2005, COSATU). Like the AIDC facilitators, the TAC facilitators spoke about the 'evil circle' of poverty, unemployment, violence, crime, prostitution and substance abuse (Journal, TAC, 08 July 2005, TAC). Thus, it is safe to state that the facilitators built on the participants experiences with substance abuse.

5.4.3 Rooted in participants' struggles with violence against women

In all three organisations the women were affected by domestic violence and the risk of contracting HIV/Aids from a violent or unfaithful partner, a violent stranger or from giving in to unprotected sex in order to obtain money or food in exchange. Thus, poverty and unemployment was a violent force in itself, adding fuel to the violence that the women experienced. As I indicated earlier, the AIDC women participants described themselves as 'poor' and vulnerable because they were 'unemployed' young women in need of 'money' for survival (Journal, AIDC, Women's School, 27-30 September 2005, Melkbosstrand). These experiences were reflected in the film 'The History Book' (n.d.) that dealt with capitalism and unjust power relations between social classes, ethnic groups and genders.

In COSATU, the facilitators ran a workshop on Gender Based Violence Against Women and Children – Sixteen Days of Activism (2005a), as part of a broader national campaign. The facilitators spoke about various types of domestic violence and sexual harassment at work and related it to the constitution and the legislation such as Domestic Violence Act of 1998 (Journal, COSATU, 24 November, 2005, COSATU). The TAC literature was rooted in the participant's experiences with inequality and low paid jobs. However, the TAC facilitators spoke about how poverty and unemployment were linked to violence against women and children (Journal, TAC, 08 July 2005, TAC). This is evidence that the facilitators built on the participants' experiences with violence against women.

5.4.4 Rooted in participants' struggles with sectarianism

The education involved learning how to build equitable relationships. The three organisations attempted to develop unity both between their own activists and with other movements. The AIDC included readings on 'what is sectarianism?' in their literature. Matthew had noted that some of the participants projected sectarian attitudes towards reformist movements such as the TAC, for not being revolutionary. In fact, one of the participants even asked why the R2W was 'reformist' and not 'revolutionary'. The topic of sectarianism was rooted in the participant's experiences, as Carlos explained the meaning of 'sectarianism' whilst relating his definition to activism in movements such as the 'APF' (Anti Privatisation Forum) and the 'SECC' (Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee) (Journal, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand).

Rooted in participants' struggles against neoliberalism

In all three organisations, the facilitators wanted to promote an understanding of the roots of unemployment, unfair working conditions and problems in the national health system. All three education programmes were focused on globalisation, neoliberalism, privatisation of public services and unemployment. Such topics were also covered in AIDC literature such as Pithouse (2005), Amato (2005) and Alternatives (2005). To transform this information into a process of conscientisation meant to persistently relate topics such as globalisation to participants' experiences with unemployment. As I mentioned before, Matthew, related neoliberalism and the notion that it makes 'labour laws more flexible', to one of the participants experiences who just finished a one month employment contract with Pick 'n Pay. The participant had worked twelve hours per day, five days per week for R285 (£19,42 or $28,81).

Similarly, in trying to explain how neoliberal policies make people compete for work against each other, Matthew made reference to the split and divide tactic used by the apartheid regime to prevent the opposition from uniting, which the participants were familiar with (Journal, AIDC, January 30-February 1 2006, Bloubergstrand). For example, in the COSATU workshop on Occupational, Environmental Health and Safety, the facilitator noted how neoliberal policies lead to further cuts in government spending on public services. One of the participants responded by pointing out that neoliberal policies had affected his community because there was a backlog in government spending on basic services such as sanitation and that this affected the 'municipal workers' (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, COSATU).

In view of the aforementioned, the facilitators' intention to ensure that the education was 'rooted in the real interests and struggles of ordinary people', made it popular education in terms of *intentionality.* Even though it corresponds with number one of the three defining features as suggested by Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999), it was not necessarily popular education in

terms of educational *practice*. There existed, however, other examples where the facilitators failed to build on the participants experiences. For example, one of the AIDC facilitators made the wrong assumption about the participants' familiarity with Rosa Luxembourg. There were other examples that I will explain later on in this chapter.

5.4.5 Overtly political and critical of the status quo

Distinct from merely 'populist', popular education is overtly political - questioning dominant power (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999). In terms of the three education programmes, facilitators' and participants' ability to be overtly political and critical of the status *quo* would depend on their ability to construct and fulfil an education programme that represents a critical view of the state, business and civil society, as well as civil society organisations. Such an education should always side with the oppressed. All facilitators spoke about power in some form or another. Their broader aim was to change 'the system' whether it meant fighting the state for 'reforms' or seeking to abolish 'capitalism' overall. Their purpose was to transform the world into a 'better world' for unemployed and poor people, the working poor and the HIV positive. The three education programmes and its facilitators fought against neoliberalism, and broadly, they all argued for state-led development in one way or another.

The facilitators were overtly political and critical of the status *quo* in terms of:
- the state, its agents and policies
- capitalism
- gender inequalities

5.4.6 Overtly political and critical of the state, its agents and policies

The three organisations held the state and business accountable for the gross inequalities between rich and poor. That is to say, the AIDC wanted government to take responsibility in terms of the unemployment crisis and wanted the government to inject more money into building the welfare state and in that way create more jobs. COSATU intended to hold government and business accountable for better wages and safe working conditions. TAC believed it was the government's responsibility to provide a respectable public health service. TAC said that the government was responsible for job creation, fair wages and working conditions, and the provision of a respectable public health service. The three organisations' educational work supported the participants' struggles to make work a constitutional right, to fair working conditions and to a dignified public health service.

As part of their strategy to build an unemployed peoples' movement, the AIDC was overtly critical of government's inability to create enough jobs. The AIDC contended that the 'road to freedom' did not end with the liberal democratic elections in 1994. They highlighted that the R2W was a necessary part of fulfilling the road to freedom (R2W, 2005). The COSATU programme aimed to develop a new layer of shop stewards that would know their constitutional rights, and together with other workers, claim their rights. Critical of the government's health policies in general, and particularly on access to ART, the TAC education made the connection between the need for a dignified public health service and the constitutional right to a life in dignity. The programme content made HIV/Aids a political public issue rather than just a private issue.

The AIDC provided leaflets on themes related to the unemployment crisis and the intention of the R2W (R2W, 2005). Matthew built on participants experiences when he pointed out that there were 'people without houses' in Umlazi [township]. In this context, he noted that there were 'bricklayers without work' (Journal, AIDC, 28-30 November 2005, Bloubergstrand). Matthew also criticized the government for insufficient funding of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) (Journal, AIDC, January 30 - February 1 2006, Bloubergstrand).

The programmes were 'political and critical of the status *quo'*. Popular education is unashamedly biased and aims to push a political line (Freire 1974; Crowther, Martin and Shaw, 1999). COSATU facilitators connected workers' struggles to their constitutional right to fair working conditions. Challenging business, one of the facilitators pointed out that 'business often override' the constitutional rights of the workers' (Journal, COSATU, 20 October 2005, COSATU). COSATU (2005b) provided literature on how to make use of the Commission for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA). One of the TAC facilitators contended that 'people without access to ART were dying' because the government had 'refused to commit to an ART roll-out plan' and because 'multinational drug companies refused to lower their prices on ART' (Journal, TAC, 02 September 2005, TAC). To back up such an argument, the TAC also provided literature that was critical of the government's policies on access to ART. The literature explained the Constitution and issues such as HIV/Aids in relation to the law. The TAC also provided literature that was critical of the government's inability to create jobs and eliminate inequality (Friedman & Mottiar, 2004).

5.4.7 Overtly political and critical of capitalism

All the facilitators referred to the hegemony of power using different terms. Marlon named it 'capitalism' or 'neoliberalism'. A TAC facilitator, Lindile blamed 'the system' or 'corrupt politicians'. Their broader aim was to change 'the system' whether it meant fighting the state for 'reforms' or the abolishment of 'capitalism' overall. Critical of government and business, Matthew

rejected the liberal notion that there are two economies. Instead he contended that capitalism is a system that breeds uneven and combined development (Journal, AIDC, January 30-February 1 2006, Bloubergstrand). The AIDC also supported such ideas providing literature such as *The Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels (1848), *Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx* by Callinicos (1987) and *Economics of the Madhouse* by Harman (1995).

5.4.8 Overtly political and critical of status quo with regards to gender inequalities

One of the AIDC facilitators who had lived in India until 1994 when she moved to South Africa, did a comparison with the tradition of paying the '*ilobolo*' in South Africa and the tradition of '*dowry*' in India. She pointed out how language, religion, class, family, work, culture and education could be used to oppress women.

Thus, the programmes were political and critical of status *quo* with the intention to change the status *quo.* Like the participants, the facilitators also identified themselves as 'activists', which further suggests that the facilitators sided with the participants.

5.4.9 Committed to progressive social and political change

The third characteristic of popular education is its commitment to progressive change – social and political. The facilitators' ability to stay committed to social and political change throughout their educational activities depended on their capability to link theory to action. In other words, this meant that the facilitators would have to ensure that the education went beyond the workshops and that the participants' modelled behaviour based on the theory that they had learnt, that is, theory and action (praxis) (Freire, 1990).

The three organisations were all committed to supporting grassroots struggles and were at the forefront of the Western Cape Coalition, which aimed to build a broad front for socioeconomic equality. The purpose of the education is to change the world – quality jobs, a decent living wage and a better public health service. All three organisations were committed to broader struggles and to build a broad united front. AIDC was committed to building a united front for unemployed people. COSATU supported other grassroots struggles by creating links with the unemployed against neoliberal policies and job losses. Committed to supporting grassroots struggles, Lindile noted that TAC aimed to build a people's health movement. The education was geared towards achieving these goals. The three programmes seemed somewhat unclear about what to change the world to, meaning, what the alternative might be. They were clearer on what they wanted to change and what they did not like.

The facilitators showed that they were committed to progressive social and political change in terms of:

- building a united front for change
- developing 'grassroots intellectuals'

5.4.10 Committed to building a united front for change

Lindile contended that it is important to 'fuse the different struggles' such as 'crime', 'HIV/Aids' and 'domestic violence'. According to him, 'all roads lead to unemployment'. Thus, HIV is a social, political and economic problem (Journal, TAC, 02 September 2005, TAC). John at the AIDC pointed out that a united front of the left was part of the solution to the unemployment crisis. The AIDC published a wide range of literature with titles such as 'building an unemployed people's health movement' and 'make unemployment history', all in support of a united left to make unemployment and poverty history. AIDC was committed to building a united front for unemployed people. Such initiative was echoed in their articles on the united front approach, sectarianism and ultra leftism, as well as in their newspaper *Alternatives*. COSATU increasingly supported other grassroots struggles by creating links with the unemployed against neoliberal policies and job losses. This initiative was endorsed by the COSATU general secretary (Journal, COSATU, 10 November 2005, COSATU). Committed to supporting grassroots struggles, Lindile noted that TAC aimed to 'build a peoples health movement'. The TAC demonstrated their appreciation for a united front of the left when they elected to form a part of the Western Cape Coalition that was initiated in 2005 by organisations to the left of the ANC.

5.4.11 Committed to developing 'grassroots intellectuals'

Lindile thought it important to build 'grassroots intellectuals' (Journal, TAC, 02 September 2005, TAC). Matthew said it was important to develop 'grassroots intellectuals' that can 'help shape' the campaign (Journal, AIDC, 27 September 2005, Melkbosstrand). Marlon meant that the shop stewards ought to 'know their rights' and furthermore, 'how to make use of them' (Journal, COSATU, 20 April 2006, COSATU). The facilitators wanted to develop critically thinking people that could form part of a new layer of leadership.

The three programmes also evidenced 'commitment to progressive social change'. The facilitators encouraged the participants to struggle for their rights: to work, to fair labour practices and the access to a decent public health service. This meant holding the government accountable for the rights enshrined in the constitution. In fact, the three organisations saw their struggles as part of the wider struggle against poverty, unemployment, domestic violence and substance abuse. They wanted to create unity amongst organisations on the left. To strengthen

the struggle, Xolani was committed to the unity of leftwing forces. Similarly, in COSATU Marlon aimed to 'strengthen the trade union' movement.

Given the aforementioned, the purpose of the three education programmes, were consistent with the Scottish definition of popular education and can be described as popular education in terms of *intentionality*. The *execution* of the popular education philosophy was the problem. The citizenship education was not as successful as it could be. In other words, there is place for improvement in popular education in the three organisations. I will deal with this in further detail when I later on in this chapter assess the participants learning and look at some of the obstacles they were faced with regarding the learning process. My research has revealed that the education was not always rooted in the struggles of ordinary people. Despite all of this, the education was overtly political and critical of the status *quo,* and it was committed to progressive social and political change.

As a further matter, I will argue that popular education in the three organisations indeed provided examples of citizenship education.

5.4.12 Popular education as citizenship education

Given what I have argued above, education in the three organisations can be characterised as popular education. I will further argue that popular education in the three organisations should be recognised as citizenship education. As I pointed out in chapter 2, Coare and Johnston (2003) suggest that popular education is an important tool for active citizenship. This statement supports my argument that popular education can be categorised as citizenship education. Hence, this was my starting point for building my argument about why popular education in the three organisations was indeed citizenship education.

The facilitators in the three education programmes, however, did not refer to the education as citizenship education. They consistently called it popular education and political education. The facilitators entrenched themselves within the popular education framework. The rhetoric and claims that they advocated for were popular education. The issues that the participants spoke about however, were citizen issues. Clearly, the programmes aimed to elevate quality of citizenship, even though the facilitators did not claim to offer 'citizenship education' in so many words. What kind of citizens did they try to develop?

Considering many people's disillusionment with respect to lack of service delivery, all the facilitators wanted a 'better world'. As part of their strategy, the facilitators thought it pertinent to build a strong and independent civil society. For this purpose, they aimed to develop citizens who

could think critically and take collective action for progressive change. To the AIDC, this meant to build a movement for unemployed people. To COSATU, part of the solution was to build a new layer of shop stewards in the trade union movement. To the TAC, it was important to build a peoples health movement. In the view of the facilitators, a citizen ought to take part in decision-making and help shape the politics of the country. On their part, this required citizens that assume agency by challenging current laws and policies by asking critical questions and taking the necessary collective organised action for employment, better wages and a decent public health service.

Even though the participants did not refer to the education as citizenship education, they indirectly did so. In fact, most of what they said was important to learn were indeed citizen issues. To Hussein a citizen ought to 'know about the country'. Many of the participants said they thought learning about the constitution was important. Hussein said that people 'need to be politicised' and 'know their system and their constitution'. Maria insisted that 'people need to learn about their rights' because 'there are some people that don't know their rights and then they don't get involved' in trade union activism. In addition, Hussein, Toni and Chantal stressed the importance of understanding the constitution. Carlos explained that a citizen is an 'active person' and 'someone who is involved in what's going on in society'. Furthermore, Candice said: 'A citizen must know their rights but a citizen must also help build their community'. In the view of the participants, a citizen is someone who knows their rights and acts on their responsibilities in building the community.

Aziza contended: 'A citizen should be able to think critically so that they cannot be fooled by corrupt politicians'. This is evidence that the participants seemed to know what constitutes a citizen, beyond citizen as subject. Thus, the participants found citizenship to involve more than just electoral voting. Citizenship requires citizens that are able to think independently and act collectively to hold their local councillors and politicians accountable. In other words, a citizen is someone who participates in direct democracy, and who helps challenge and develop the laws governing the country. Therefore, it is important for people to become more active and to learn to think critically, and this can be done through a combination of education (theory) and action, what Freire (1990) called praxis.

5.4.13 What matters to citizenship education?

History has shown that those who possess economic power also control government and law (Barbalet, 1988). This condition gave rise to the struggle for 'democratic citizenship', which was a struggle *for access* to citizenship against exclusion and against the inequalities which exclusion produces. This represented a struggle for the possibility of access to exercise citizenship. But

the development of democratic citizenship has not brought an end to inequality. Rather, it has produced spheres of equal participation which parallel those of exclusive power (Barbalet, 1988, p. 44). In South Africa, for example, the struggle against the apartheid regime was a struggle for democratic citizenship. The struggle today is about access to exercise citizenship. The struggle for active citizenship in South Africa today is a struggle for all citizens to claim their constitutional rights. Citizenship is not just about electoral voting. It is about participation and the right to exercise access to the civil, political and the social sphere (Marshall, 1950). In other words, this means access to basic services, to the court system and to the political institutions. AIDC's R2W campaign aimed to make access to work a constitutional right. COSATU forms part of the tripartite alliance (that are indirectly linked to the government through the ANC) but during strikes and marches they sometimes clash with the police. The police are employed to defend the state, but some of them also participate as POPCRU members in the shop steward training. TAC continues their fight for peoples' constitutional right to a life in dignity.

My research has shown that, across the organisations, all facilitators and participants thought it important that the participants become more active and that they develop the ability to think critically. One of my research questions asked: What is it that people need to learn to become active or critical [critically thinking] citizens and how do they learn it?

5.4.13.1 What the participants thought they need to learn

On the evidence of my research, participants such as Aziza, Carlos, Chantal, Hussein and Toni (above), much like the facilitators, contended that people need to become more active and learn to think critically. Back to my research question, what is it that people need to learn in order to become active and critical [critically thinking] citizens? To the participants, this involved: develop critical consciousness; learn about the constitution; learn about the government; and learn about people: races and classes. In other words, the participants' suggestions on what is important knowledge define the education as citizenship education. The aim is not to 'teach people how to be good citizens' (Crowther &Martin, 2005a). If citizenship education is to affect change it is inevitable that it is *critical of the status quo* and that it leads to questioning the assumptions underlying power. Critical citizenship education is education aimed at creating an active citizenry who are both willing and able to challenge prevailing conditions of oppression. Critical education is about the 'practice of freedom' rather than the 'maintenance of the status quo' (Ledwith, 2007, p. 8). On the basis of my findings, as outlined in chapter 4, the following topics are pertinent for citizenship education:

- Critical consciousness
- Constitutional rights

- Government
- People: races and classes

As I noted in chapter 4, Sherrie and Eugene thought it was important that activists enhance their understanding of issues so that they can better perform their job as a shop steward. It was suggested that the education should be non-formal to maintain 'political' independence (Chantal, Thando, Senzeni and Lunga). Chardonnay regarded 'rights' to be important in order to get 'involved' in politics - so did Chantal, Hussein, Toni and Candice. Clinton thought that the government ought to become more 'transparent' and accountable to its people, and that they should build a leadership with good role models (Interview, 8 May 2006). I also mentioned earlier that Hussein insisted that South African people had to learn about different people, their races and classes. Like Chantal, the participants' wanted a better society (Interview, 31 March 2006).

Besides such knowledge, the participants, much like the facilitators, wanted to: develop leadership and develop skills and knowledge to build the campaign and organisation. On the evidence of the participants, this involved learning leadership qualities such as:
- Campaigning skills
- Responsibilities
- Unity

In order to build sustainable campaigns and organisations the new layer of leadership wanted to learn campaigning skills, presentation skills and communication skills. Most of the participants wanted to be able to do their job in the organisations and campaigns. Like Zola and Aziza, the participants' wanted to be able to 'run the R2W campaign'. Much of the struggle attitude constituted learning about *responsibilities* and *accountability* in their workplaces, communities and homes. Sherrie felt responsible for highlighting the issues related to 'women' and 'gender' in the workshops. Gugulethu wanted to become a 'better leader' in order to fulfil her role as expected. Chantal felt accountable and compelled to 'share' her newly found knowledge with her 'community'. Craig said that he aimed to 'help' people with 'labour issues'. In his struggle to teach South African people about other African countries and its peoples, Hussein intended to build unity between South African citizens and foreign nationals. Chantal called for unity amongst the different groups of people in South Africa. Were these topics addressed in the three organisations curriculum?

5.4.13.2 A brief analysis of the curriculum

This part will present a broad summary of the subject matter and the literature provided in the three organisations. Obviously, this depends on the number of workshops that actually took place. In other words, I will not include the literature of the workshops that did not take place because the participants did not have access to such readings, neither did I. It is important to bear in mind that COSATU did not have a reading list as such but used course manuals for each workshop. On the contrary, the TAC had a reading list but did not use it because most of the workshops did not actually take place.

Broadly, the curriculum in AIDC focused on: unemployment (Alternatives, 2005; R2W, 2005); political economy, neoliberalism and globalisation (Pithouse, 2005, p. 8; Amato, 2005, p. 5; Alternatives, 2005); international institutions (Alternatives, 2005;); capitalism (The Communist Manifesto by Marx & Engels, 1848; Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx by Callinicos, 1987; Economics of the Madhouse by Harman, 1995); sectarianism (What is sectarianism? 2005); campaigning; united front (United Front, 2005); and sexism. The curriculum in COSATU essentially dealt with: labour (Commission for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration, 2005b); health and safety (Occupational, Environmental Health and Safety by Industrial Health Research Group, 2005c); substance abuse; political economy (basic); and gender (Gender Based Violence Against Women and Children – Sixteen Days of Activism, 2005a; Help line and emergency numbers).

The curriculum in TAC focused on: gender (African Renewal, 2005; Agenda, 2005; Women's Right: the facts); HIV/Aids and the law (Aids Law Project, 2003); health (Arafia, 2004); political economy (Friedman & Mottiar, 2004); and globalisation (World Economic Forum in Switzerland – Debt and Globalisation (film). Across the organisations, the facilitators emphasised the importance of developing 'critical thinking', so as to build a 'strong leadership' that could 'think independently'. Similarly, the three organisations had literature that were critical of the status *quo,* and hence, encouraged oppositional thinking.

As I have recorded in chapter 4, the curriculum dealt with issues such as gender-based violence, substance abuse, sectarianism, a united front approach and campaigning skills. The issues outlined were close to the participants' hearts and their immediate felt needs. According to the participants, the facilitators sometimes gave 'too much' information and taught subjects on a level that was 'too high'. Therefore, the participants contended that more time should have been spent discussing and 'asking questions' about the topics. Thus, issues such as globalisation and neoliberalism could have been simplified. In return, the curriculum ought to have focused even

more on the participants' immediate needs and concerns: critical consciousness; constitutional rights; government; people: races and classes; campaigning skills; responsibilities; and unity.

5.4.14 How do people learn about citizenship?

In the view of the participants, citizenship involves more than just electoral voting. It requires citizens that are able to think independently and act collectively to hold their local councillors and politicians accountable. How do people learn this? Apart from deliberate education interventions, the participants learnt from and with each other, through dialogue, solidarity and action, as they built on insights and knowledge. At times, I found it challenging to separate their learning from deliberate education to that of action learning, as the two seemed to overlap. As is evident from my research findings in chapter 4, I argue that the participants learnt through:

- Dialogue
- Solidarity
- Action

5.4.14.1 Learning through dialogue

What differentiates education from incidental learning is the deliberate construction of knowledge through dialogue. Freire (1990) said that 'Without dialogue there is no communication and without communication there can be no true education' (p. 73-74). Therefore, dialogue is the 'encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world' (Freire, 1990, p. 70). Dialogue should never be reduced to the act of one person's "depositing" ideas in another or become a simple exchange of ideas to be "consumed" by the discussants (Freire, 1990, p. 70). It is not our role to speak to the people about our own view of the world or to attempt to impose that view on them. Some of the facilitators in the three organisations acted as ideologues by pushing ideas rather than people who bring about the process of creating Really Useful Knowledge, which I shall discuss later as limitations and reasons for difficulties in learning. Freire (1990) proclaims that our role is 'to dialogue with the people about their views and ours' (p. 77). It is vital that educators realise that peoples 'view of the world, manifested variously in their action, reflects their situation in the world' (Freire, 1990, p. 77). Educational and political action that is not critically aware of such circumstances runs the risk either of "banking" or of preaching in the desert. As I outlined in chapter 4, the participants learning was sometimes limited to sloganeering rather than real understanding.

Moreover, Freire (1990) contends that for the 'truly humanist educator and the authentic revolutionary', the purpose of action is the reality 'to be transformed by them together with other people – not other men and women themselves' (p. 75). The oppressors, on the other hand, are

the ones who attempt to indoctrinate the people in order to adjust them 'to a reality which must remain untouched' (Freire, 1990, p. 75). It is in such a context that Freire (1990) warns us that 'revolutionary leaders' often fall for 'banking' education, from planning to content, from the 'top down' in order to gain 'the support of the people for revolutionary action' (p. 75). Marlon spoke from his 'own experience' when he said that he 'learn[ed] more' when he 'engage[d] with somebody else'. Marlon added that this non-formal education is not 'conscious learning' and that therefore, it is not necessary to 'sit in a class'. He contended that 'we will find answers together'. Similarly, John asserted that the AIDC aimed to 'build' on learners 'experiences' so that they could 'take ownership' of the learning 'process'.

Freire (1990) argues that 'Human existence cannot be silent … To exist, humanely, is to *name* the world, to change it' (p. 69). Dialogue is an encounter between women and men who name the world. It must not be a situation where some name the world on behalf of others. Freire's (1970) concept about the 'culture of silence' (p. 12) describes the situation whereby the oppressed remain silent and inactive as a result of such oppression. In this context, the oppressed lack the voice, critical consciousness and ability to act and to change their situation and the environment in which they live. To Freire (1990) conscientisation was a central tool to help people break the culture of silence. The participants in the three organisations that I studied lived in 'communities' of silence where economic depression and violence is rife. The three education programmes tried to break this culture of silence by encouraging political activism and critical thinking through conscientisation. All participants learned to speak publicly as well as speaking to the public. Participants such as Senzeeni and Zola said that they felt more confident about running the R2W campaign. The participants felt that their new insights and understanding had made it easier for them to speak about the issues and tell others about it. A new awareness and understanding had made them more active. This is closely related to Freire's (1970) concept of breaking the 'culture of silence' (p. 12).

Freire (1990) highlights that true dialogue cannot exist unless the dialoguers engage in critical thinking, thinking which 'perceives reality as a process, as transformation, rather then as a static entity – thinking which does not separate itself from action, but constantly immerses itself in temporality without fear of the risks involved' (p. 73). In order to produce Really Useful Knowledge it is crucial to encourage critical analysis and critical thinking rather than merely reflection on experience. This requires educators who are social actors. Their role is to identify existing knowledge, to build on this knowledge and produce new knowledge by encouraging reflection so that the old and new knowledge get integrated. 'In contrast to critical thinking, naïve thinking, sees "historical time as a weight, a stratification of the acquisitions and experiences of the past", from which the present should emerge normalized and "well-behaved". For the naïve

thinker, the important thing is accommodation to this normalized "today". For the critical thinker, the essence is the 'continuing transformation of reality, in behalf of the continuing humanization of men [and women] (emphasis added in brackets)' (Freire 1990, p. 73). Given this, only dialogue which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating critical thinking. There were times that the participants in the three organisations struggled to think critically. This is because the facilitators did not always take time to use dialogue to construct new knowledge. The facilitators' did not consistently link the topics to the participants' lives. Therefore, the topics became decontextualised from the experiences of the participants'.

Thompson (1997) argues that linked to radical adult education and critical thinking is the development of 'Really Useful Knowledge' that can help people understand the nature of their present condition and how to transform it (p. 145). Really Useful Knowledge was political knowledge that can be used to challenge the relations of oppression and inequality from which the oppressed suffer (Thompson, 1997). In order to develop 'grassroots intellectuals' and develop Really Useful Knowledge, it is required that the educators do this through the means of dialogue. To Xolani, a strong leadership ought to be 'activist' orientated and 'reflective' (Interview, 18 February 2006, AIDC). Marlon wanted to develop shop stewards who were able to question issues (Interview, 16 March 2006). In building a 'broader leadership', Lindile said the TAC needed a 'cadre' and 'intellectuals in the form of Gramsci' that must 'come up' from the 'bottom' of the grassroots (Interview, 23 March 2006). As a strategic part of building a People's Health Movement, Lindile thought it important to build 'grassroots intellectuals' that can take collective action (Interview, 23 March 2006). Given this, was there any evidence of dialogue leading towards the production of Really Useful Knowledge?

I indicated in chapter 4 that the AIDC women dialogued openly about their personal experiences related to unemployment and transactional sex, domestic abuse and HIV/Aids at the AIDC Womens School. This dialogue was continued at the AIDC Womens School, which was a follow up to the workshop on Women's Day. The women said that after the workshops on Women's Day, they had united and established 'networks of women in the communities' so that they could 'support each other' and 'create strategies to fight the violence' they found themselves in. Thus, the AIDC workshop on Womens Day and the AIDC Womens School provided examples of how dialogue can lead towards the production of Really Useful Knowledge and in return how such knowledge can lead people into taking collective action.

The COSATU facilitator on substance abuse, started to build a dialogue around substance abuse as he linked participants' personal experience to the history about the 'dop' system. This dialogue was constructed in order to develop an understanding of how personal troubles are

embedded in larger dynamics of socio-economic and political interests – in other words, understanding how power works. It is important that the participants develop an understanding of how this happens for them to define appropriate action. Hence, it was the first step towards defining constraints and opportunities needed to create the appropriate context for action. In COSATU the women participants spoke about their 'alcoholic' partners who at times would drink away their money and become 'abusive'. One of the women in COSATU, after having attended workshops on substance abuse, started workshops on substance abuse as a preventative measure on the farm where she worked in order to prevent young people getting hooked on drugs and alcohol. Eugene had also started supporting people with substance problems in his community.

These dialogues were constructed in order to develop an understanding of how personal troubles are embedded in larger dynamics of socio-economic and political interests – in other words, understanding how power works. It is important that the participants develop an understanding of how this happens for them to define appropriate action. Hence, it was the first step towards defining constraints and opportunities needed to create the appropriate context for action. For example, Bongi made the link between poverty and unemployment. He pointed out that one of the reasons as to why many 'poor people' are unemployed was that 'business is moving overseas to find cheaper labour'. He warned against politicians and business that often merely present the 'narrow picture' when trying to explain why people are poor and unemployed (Interview, 8 May 2006). The narrow picture would be to justify inequality by supporting the argument that some people will always be poor or the government does not have enough money to provide basic services.

On the contrary, the participants' ability to learn increased when the content was directly related and relevant to their activism in their organisations.

5.4.14.2 Learning through solidarity

Freire (1990) argues that solidarity requires that people enter into the situation of those with who they are in solidarity. This means fighting at the side of the oppressed to transform the objective reality which has turned them into people who sell their labour only for others to reap the benefits. For this to happen, the oppressor must realise that the oppressed are human beings that 'should be free' (Freire, 1990, p. 32). This involves seeing that the oppressed are not "marginals" living "outside" society, but that they have always been living "inside" the structure which made them "beings for others" (Freire, 1990, p. 55).

Solidarity and empathy were crucial struggle values that the participants learnt. They learnt about empathy and to fight side by side *with* other people rather than fighting *for* other people. The participants did not feel sympathy for their plight but empathy for the human condition that allows someone to thrive on the backs of others. Empathy goes hand in hand with solidarity and both are fundamentally important human values. Chantal noted that she had learnt to see things in a new light and that she wanted to assist other people. Chantal had realised that the world was not only about her but that her life was indirectly linked to other peoples' lives 'out there', that she previously did not know. Such values are also expressed in the South Africa notion of Ubuntu that I explained in chapter 2. In the ubuntu ideology, a person is a person only through other people. In other words, I am because of your actions, and vice versa. Therefore, true emancipation is collective emancipation rather than individual empowerment. Such education is a strong contrast to the human capital paradigm that is the dominant paradigm in South Africa at present, which I outlined in chapter 2.

My research evidenced that the participants' learnt important attitudes in the education that they applied when acting in solidarity with others. Many participants changed their outlook on life in various ways. Many of the participants contended that they had learnt about 'race' and solidarity from collective action. Solidarity is central to building a strong and united civil society and so topics such as sectarianism and united front approach, as well as gender based violence, were all important topics in the three organisations. Through acting in solidarity, Eugene had learnt that it was necessary to 'interact more with other sectors' and 'have solidarity strikes'. He said it was important to support 'the security guys' that 'are getting peanuts for wages'. This he suggested one should do by 'not coming to work overtime because then they must do the overtime and the work must go on'. He knew such solidarity was an effective strategy because he had been on solidarity strikes where he had seen it work. Through action he had learnt that it was important for him to side with other workers, also those that were worse off than him.

5.4.14.3 Learning through action

Some of the theory that the participants had accumulated started making further sense when they turned it into action. These were the moments when they realised that the theory made sense. Eugene's experience with action had taught him to be strategic and class conscious. He had learnt that it was important for him to side with other workers, also those that were worse off than him. Learning from action and solidarity is significantly different because it is about a personal experience and this cannot be taught in a workshop. In fact, learning through action has been central to feminist pedagogic practice such as consciousness raising and the construction of 'really new knowledge' (Barr 1999, p. 73 cited in Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999). The participants claimed to have become more active. The outcome of such activism involved

campaigning skills such as learning to present the organisation and campaign. Sipho spoke of how he had 'started to speak politics' because he found that people wanted 'to discuss' politics 'even in the taxi'. Senzeni, for example, presented the R2W campaign to the National Union of Mineworkers. Carlos presented the campaign to people of different age groups in different geographical areas. Zola found himself talking to people about 'issues' and giving them advice on what to do on an everyday basis. As I mentioned before, he felt that practice made him more 'eloquent', and hence, more 'active'. Thus, through speaking to the public and transmitting information to fellow citizens the participants found themselves to be 'active' citizens building the campaign and organisation.

TAC participant Clinton had realised that 'it's not about the colour of the skin' but about public issues. Confirming that this was a collective experience, he argued, 'these are things that we can't experience by ourselves'. Practical 'experiences' had taught Candice and Clinton that people are 'all the same'. Hence, they had started 'confronting' racist attitudes from 'family members' and 'work colleagues'. Clinton had realised the need for 'tolerance'. Given South Africa's history, this is very important. From her activism in the TAC Chantal learnt about strategic action and that when standing together, people can forge change. The experiences of Candice, Chantal and Clinton indicate that people build citizenship by acting as *citizens* rather than *subjects*. Only by taking part in what happens in society can people feel as though they are part of decision making and in this way meaningfully practice as citizens.

The participants contended that solidarity with activists from other organisations and movements were important to building a larger movement. The participants realised that their personal troubles and experiences were echoed elsewhere because other people had the same experiences. This made them realise that they were not alone and that the issues were more general. Participants claimed to have learnt about tolerance and solidarity. Such statements require that the participants have certain attitudes such as equity regardless of class, ethnicity and gender, including equality for the unemployed, workers, and HIV-positive people. In fact, the participants' ability to learn increased when the content was directly related and relevant to their activism in their organisations. Their theoretical understanding of solidarity started making sense to them because in action they found themselves working together for a common goal.

5.5 Is it Critical Citizenship Education?

Having interviewed facilitators and participants, and observed the participants in workshops, meetings and campaigns, I realised that the participants claimed to have learnt about globalisation and neoliberalism but that they struggled to explain the same topics in detail, using

their own words. Hence, they often succumbed to 'sloganeering'. There were several indications that the participants did not learn, since they were struggling with: report backs, subject matter, language, transforming theory into action, and applying critical thinking. What were the underlying reasons for this? I found that contributing factors were related to constraints in the facilitation process, as well as structural, historical and social factors. The participants learnt to struggle but failed to struggle because the learning process and its constraints, which I shall discuss below, were too overwhelming.

5.5.1 Participant's personal struggles

5.5.1.1 Struggling to do report backs

Across the organisations the facilitators encouraged the participants to 'make use' of 'experiences' and take the information back to their workplace, community and home. In chapter 4, I showed that the importance of report backs was specifically highlighted by Matthew in AIDC and by Marlon in COSATU. COSATU facilitators only went as far as asking who had done report backs. They did not have a routine of doing follow-ups to ensure that such report-backs actually took place. It turned out that only 4 out of 30 had done report-backs to fellow shop stewards when asked by the facilitator. Also, three of the participants claimed that they were totally unaware of such responsibility (Journal, COSATU, 24 November 2005, COSATU). When, from time to time, facilitators asked participants whether they had given report-backs, it often turned out that they had not.

Observation and interviewing told me that, for the most part, the two participants Candice and Eugene were the only shop stewards who took their report-back responsibilities seriously. Candice and Eugene were the only participants that during the interviews referred to the report-backs that they held at their workplace for fellow shop stewards. In fact, they were the only ones that referred to such report-backs in the COSATU workshops. I also noted on different occasions when I tried to make arrangements for interviews that Candice and Eugene were often busy, even during their lunch breaks, because they were doing report-back meetings for the various groups of shop stewards.

As I noted earlier, the participants saw themselves as activists and therefore indirectly as *citizens* rather than *subjects*. If this was the case, then why did they struggle to translate this insight into action? My research has evidenced that there was a gap between *insight* and *action*. The reason for this was that they were able to act when they dealt with matters that were directly related to their everyday experiences rather than abstract theory. For example, they knew how to act and assist others on the issue of alcoholism but they struggled to explain globalisation theory.

There was evidence that they applied what they had learnt in their everyday lives. They did this by talking to others and by changing their own attitudes and relationships. What does it take for the relationship between theory and action to become activated? In other words, what would it take for the participants' theoretical knowledge about doing report-backs to translate into action? In chapter 6 I will suggest that this is a matter for further research. On the evidence of my research, a system ought to be put in place in COSATU and TAC to ensure that such sharing actually takes place.

5.5.1.2 Struggling with subject matter

Several of the participants said: 'I sort of know what it [globalisation] means but I can't really explain it'. At first, I thought they felt intimidated by me asking them questions about what they had learnt. On the contrary, the participants were able to explain other terms, when I asked, such as sectarianism, united front, TRIPS and the two unemployment definitions. This confirmed that the participants learnt when the subject matter was close to their hearts and immediate felt needs. Thus, the facilitators did not always ensure that the subject matter was so. It is possible that the participants found it difficult to explain globalisation because it was not contextualised well enough in the education. Sloganeering often surfaced rather than real understanding, yet there existed signs that the participants had started to ask critical questions, which I shall discuss further on, in this chapter.

5.5.1.3 Struggling with language

It became apparent that one of the reasons for lack of participation was the language of instruction - English. Related was their difficulty with English, set against their right to use their mother tongue. Despite the fact that facilitators such as Marlon, Matthew and Lindile noted that 'you can speak in any language you prefer' and 'we will find translators', the participants experienced difficulties with respect to the learning process. AIDC participants came from provinces all over the country. They spoke Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, Tswana and Sotho as their home language. COSATU and TAC participants mainly spoke Afrikaans and Xhosa as their mother tongue.

Language is a means through which knowledge is articulated. Some participants commented that their difficulties with articulating themselves affected 'if' they spoke, 'how' they spoke and 'what' knowledge they might have been able to articulate (Personal communication, AIDC, 09-12 August 2005, Melkbosstrand). Some participants noted that it is the 'same people' that speak up most of the time because others may 'not feel confident' enough to speak English. This was an

indication that the problem for these participants was the difficulty of processing and articulating knowledge in English rather than simply a lack of confidence.

At the beginning of one of the TAC workshops one of the participants insisted that the participants should have the choice to 'speak in any language' they felt 'comfortable' (Journal, TAC leadership school, 8 July 2005, Salt River). Towards the end of the session, Lindile suggested that people should speak English to avoid time-consuming translations but the participants insisted, 'it's our right to speak in our language' (Journal, TAC leadership school, 8 July 2005, Salt River). This confirmed that language was a pivotal issue to the participants.

5.5.1.4 Struggling to come to terms with feminist ideas

The participants did not always practice what they preached or model what they said in their behaviour. This suggested tension between understanding ideas and concepts, and being able to translate theory into practice. Some AIDC and TAC male participants knew the 'right things' to say regarding 'women's empowerment'. Yet, in both organisations, I observed on different occasions that some men would interrupt when female participants spoke. At times, the male participants' inability or unwillingness to act on insights suggested that the subject matter at hand had, in fact, not been fully grasped. One of the AIDC male participants' suggested that women 'sleep' their way to the top of the business hierarchy. One of the TAC male participants suggested that women in TAC ought to take a 'back seat' and in other words be quiet. This led me to ask: have they actually learnt? Further I asked: why do they not act on what they say?

Having observed the above, the women participants were constantly confronted by sexism. Why was sexism such a problem? Firstly, we live in a sexist society in which we are constantly bombarded by sexist commercials with half-naked women advertising for the latest car or chocolate. Secondly, apart from the AIDC Women's School, the AIDC workshops were male-dominated in respect of attendees. I would not want to fall into the trap of justifying their sexist behaviour, but given the unequal society that they live in, social pressures to be 'macho', and poor role models such as President Jacob Zuma, might be the elements that are influencing social behaviour.

5.5.1.5 Struggling to think critically

The three organisations' curriculum emphasised the importance of developing 'critical thinking', so as to build a 'strong leadership' that could 'think independently'. Did the participants learn to 'think critically' as Xolani argued? If critical thinking is about questioning previously held assumptions, what evidence exists of critical thought by participants? The facilitators promoted

'critical attitudes' in reading newspapers and so forth, and reminded the participants to always question what interests were at stake for the author of any document.

The facilitators wanted the participants to become more active, critical thinking and to form part of a new leadership. Like Xolani, they also wanted the participants to 'understand why things are the way they are'. This involved understanding: globalisation; neoliberalism; political economy; campaigning skills and tactics such as solidarity and a united front approach. The participants also wanted to become more active, think critically and become part of a new leadership. Moreover, the facilitators wanted to learn about the constitution, rights in the workplace, and campaigning skills. Even though popular education is supposed to relate learning to action that is relevant for struggle, the participants were 'struggling to learn' about the *content* because of the *process,* and hence 'struggling' to *put theory into practice*. They struggled to *think critically* and to *treat each other with respect.*

Why did the participants find it difficult to learn? Was it possible that the participants found it difficult to explain certain concepts because they were not contextualised well enough in the education? When I analysed the education I found that structural, historical and social factors were central to why the participants struggled to learn. The abovementioned issues were all potential constraints to the intention of people 'learning to struggle'.

5.5.2 Structural factors

Thus, the participants had failed to learn the abovementioned issues. Why? Some of the problems were related to the facilitators:

- Making assumptions about prior knowledge
- Giving too much information too quickly and sometimes at a level that was too difficult
- Not always encouraging participation (but allowing the same people to speak)
- Not practicing what they preach
- Not allowing enough time for discussion and reflection
- Intimidating behaviour
- Educators were not educated to be educators
- Lack of a clearly defined and shared understanding of what constitutes democracy
- Tensions between organisational commitment and facilitator intentions

5.5.2.1 Making assumptions about prior knowledge

Occasionally the facilitators made the wrong assumptions about the participants' prior knowledge. For example, the AIDC 'ice-breaker' posed a question based on the assumption that everybody was familiar with feminist Marxist Rosa Luxembourg. This shows that the subject matter did not always derive from the 'experiences of the participants' or involve issues 'close to their own concerns' as suggested by Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999, p. 4). This made it difficult for the participants to learn.

In fact, through conversations and workshops with young people in communities in Cape Town I learnt that many of the young people felt alienated from 'the struggle' and hence, they sometimes felt alienated from the workshops. Firstly, they were too young to remember 'the struggle' and secondly, they were not informed about the history of South Africa. For example, one of the participants said: 'I hear a lot about activists living in exile and going into exile - where's exile?' This was the first time she heard about exile and she thought exile was a country. This again, showed that young people had little information about the history of South Africa. It may also indicate that English as a medium of instruction was problematic, as well as the fact that that young people suffered from a lack of quality education and little knowledge in geography (Journal, New Womens Movement, 16 November, 2005, Cape Town). The facilitators often assumed social literacy.

5.5.2.2 Giving too much information

I asked myself: "Is it possible that the facilitators sometimes got carried away since they had a lot of knowledge on the issues?" From document review and observation it was obvious to me that the *content* was overly ambitious in AIDC and TAC. The facilitators tried to cover too many topics, they used too much material and they used complex explanations as opposed to simplifying the subject matter. In fact, in the interviews, some participants also brought to my attention that they found that the level of teaching was 'too high' because some of the teachers were 'university professors'. Bongi in the AIDC noted there was 'too many' inputs that were 'too long'. Senzeni noted that the facilitators were so 'eager' to start the campaign that they tried to cover 'too much' ground 'too quickly'.

I realised that certain topics such as globalisation were alienating to many of the participants because they did not feel an immediate connection to it. They also raised concerns about 'too much' material in terms of the scope of what they had to learn and comprehend. This meant that the facilitators sometimes failed to build on the participants existing experience. This relates to what Freire (1990) said about educators and politicians that are misunderstood because their

'language' is not attuned to the particular situation of the people they address, and that therefore, their talk is 'alienating rhetoric' (p. 77). This applies to some of the facilitators in the three organisations. There were times when they were using inaccessible language in terms of terminology. Also Sherrie contended that this was an issue at the COSATU workshops.

5.5.2.3 Not always encouraging participation

In view of the above, the facilitation *process* was not participatory enough. The participants noted that there was not enough space in the workshops for them to 'ask questions', think and 'debate', and build an argument or provide answers. In practice, this meant less time for dialogue and processes of critical thinking. In the past worker education was led by radicals from political movements such as the ANC, SACP and Trotskyist groupings (Cooper, 2005a & Bird, 1984). Despite the radical aims of these educators, they often relied on conventional education methods such as 'lectures followed by discussions' (Cooper, 2005a, p. 7). This trend is still alive in the three organisations. Even though they used other methods such as group work and role play, they did not allocate enough time for the participants to ask questions and formulate answers. This boiled down to the fact that dialogue was not prioritised enough. Instead of spending more time engaging the participants in dialogue, the facilitators' education was often very politically 'directive' and didactic. Quite often this resulted in 'banking education' (Freire, 1990) or imposing solutions rather than problem posing education. This sits in constant tension with the facilitators' desire to get the participants to ask questions and be critical. This captures the tension that exists within popular education and political education between 'espoused theory', which critiques 'banking education', and 'theory in practice', where the educator often needs to pass on information or knowledge of value. This raises the question of how to balance the two?

In practice, this meant that the facilitators did not build appropriately on participants' experiences, and furthermore, they failed to encourage and facilitate engagement, dialogue and the production of Really Useful Knowledge. They did not all encourage participation but allowed the same people to speak. Participation at workshops was somewhat erratic: there was a changing group of people and much had to be repeated, therefore, not much could be assumed and built on.

5.5.2.4 Not practicing what they preach

The facilitators set out to build on participants experiences, encourage participation and to develop critical thinking, amongst other issues. As I have pointed out above, the facilitators did not always encourage participation. Hence, they did not always take time to build on the participants' experiences. Sometimes, the facilitators themselves got lost trying to work their way through the curriculum. This happened when they tried to explain globalisation and neoliberalism

in depth whilst using difficult language. In return, they lost participants' attention and ability to focus on the subject matter.

5.5.2.5 Not allowing enough time for discussion and reflection

The facilitators' constantly emphasised the importance of 'letting the participants explain the issues using their own words'. Yet they only afforded them limited opportunities to do so, and therefore, limited opportunities to improve on their skills. Even though the facilitators constantly urged the participants to 'speak up' and 'share' their 'experiences', they did not always allocate enough time for discussion and reflection. The participants' wanted 'to speak more' in the workshops (Senzeni). This meant 'more space' for participants to explain issues 'on their own terms'. Senzeni noted that the facilitators were so 'eager' to start the campaign that they tried to cover 'too much' ground 'too quickly'.

Some of the participants said that that there was 'too little' time for discussion, reflection, asking questions, and build an argument or provide answers. This meant less time to facilitate critical thinking and to treat the wounds of the 'lag' of Bantu Education. This limited their efforts and opportunities to reflect on the information and making sense of it. When asking a question as a facilitator one has to allow sufficient time for the participants to be able to provide answers. The facilitators did not make sufficient time to wait for answers.

Given all of this, the participants were at times confused and hence they struggled to learn. Some of the reasons for these struggles were due to historical reasons and the fact that: participants were not well equipped to learn, given their previous (formal) education. Other reasons were social, such as: the participation at the workshops was somewhat erratic; lack of discipline; gap between participants expectations and facilitators plans; lack of funding; lack of support; and sexism.

5.5.3 Historical factors

5.5.3.1 Legacy of apartheid education

Some of the participants struggled with the subject matter because of the struggle that their defective formal education had been for them in the first place. They had struggled to learn in formal education in the first place. Due to the continuing legacy of apartheid education formal education remains poor and inaccessible to many of the participants that formed part of the 'lost generation' without quality formal education.

5.5.4 Social factors

5.5.4.1 Educators were not educated to be educators

Many of the popular education educators were not educated to be educators. In fact, several of the educators were victims of 'Bantu education' but facilitators such as Xolani and Lindile had educated themselves through political education, as part of the anti-apartheid struggle. Another important factor is that accredited education is increasingly prioritised by the government and given more funding as opposed to non-formal education, and therefore non-formal education is left with less educated facilitators. Thus, there existed limitations to the quality of the education in the three programmes.

5.5.4.2 Lack of a clearly defined and shared understanding of what constitutes democracy

The facilitators seemed clear on what they did not like and what they wanted to change but somewhat unclear about the alternative and what they wanted. Matthew expressed in one of the workshops that it was 'the start of a journey' that 'we don't know where it's going' (Journal, TAC, 08 July 2005, Salt River). The fact that the some of the participants did not respect fellow participants meant that they failed to practice democracy within their own organisation. I asked myself: 'If John as a facilitator disrespected his 'comrades', why should the participants be expected to act any different? I also asked myself: 'If politicians are corrupt and disrespectful to its citizens by stealing tax payer's money, why should the citizens be expected to do differently?' Some of the facilitators lacked a clearly defined and shared understanding of what constitutes democracy. Given the long history of struggle for democracy in South Africa, why is there a lack of understanding of what constitutes democracy?

Looking more broadly at the political situation in South Africa this is not a surprise. Given the court cases following the former Deputy President Jacob Zuma corruption and rape trial there is reason to doubt that democracy and the law means the same to all people (that is, people in government and people in civil society). There exists confusion as to what democracy ought to be about and how power sharing should happen in the government. An example of how power should not be used was whereby many of the government ministers had abused Parlamentary travel vouchers in the Travelgate scandal. There were 30 people that faced fraud charges in the Travelgate affair. Seven of them were travel agents and 21 of them were MP's. For example, the former ANC Chief Nyami Booi pleaded guilty to theft for abusing Parliamentary travel vouchers (Mail & Guardian, 2006a).

5.5.4.3 Tensions between organisational commitment and facilitator intentions

The facilitators' expectations were not always the same as that of the organisations. Marlon expressed such feelings when he contended that the leadership of COSATU did not support the non-formal education for shop stewards. Similarly, in TAC, the leadership showed little interest in the non-formal education. This made it difficult for the facilitators to do what they wanted to do. This was a sentiment that both Marlon in COSATU and Lindile in TAC shared.

5.5.4.4 Inconsistent participation at workshops

The reality that all three organisations had a flow of new participants at each workshop caused a certain level of disruption. In other words, the facilitators constantly had to adjust their facilitation to new participants. A lot of time was invested in the introduction and getting to know new participants.

5.5.4.5 Lack of discipline

Marlon complained that some participants arrive at 'their own time' and 'leave throughout the day'. He suggested that 'COSATU and the affiliates' need to communicate so that they have an 'indication' of how many shop stewards will attend, and added that perhaps this would enhance 'timekeeping' and the right amount of 'workshop material' (Interview, 16 March 2006). According to Sherrie, one of the participants, some shop stewards needed to be more 'responsible' considering that they 'get paid' and have 'permission from the employer' and have 'committed' themselves to take knowledge back to the 'workplace' where 'workers' elected them (Interview, 22 February 2006).

5.5.4.6 Gap between participants' expectations and facilitators plans

Across the organisations, the facilitators and the participants contended that it was important to build an active and critically thinking new layer of leadership. However, the facilitators also focused on the fact that the participants ought to learn about globalisation. The participants on the other hand, thought it was more important to be able to campaign well. This was an example of how the facilitators' goals conflicted with that of the participants.

Lack of funding

The R2W conference and R2W workshops were postponed because of a delay in the funding from foreign donors. As I pointed out in chapter 4, Marlon said that the COSATU leadership did not support the non-formal education and hence that the shop stewards education lacked

funding. In the TAC, Lindile said that the TAC leadership did not support the TAC leadership training.

5.5.4.7 Lack of support

I have already pointed out that the three organisations faced serious challenges such as lack of funding. In effect, lack of funding translated into lack of support. The leadership in COSATU and TAC did not show interest in the workshops. The workshops usually ran as planned. In TAC, however, this was not the case. TAC had problems getting the leadership programme off the ground. The first session that took place was the one on political economy in July 2005. By May 2006 only three of the envisaged workshops had materialised. In fact, only a few workshops actually took place until it all fizzled out.

5.5.4.8 Lack of patience

Other reasons for these struggles were due to social reasons and the fact that participants experienced intimidation and sexism. John for example, chastised and criticised the participants' lack of ability to run the campaign, which made them feel uncomfortable and annoyed.

5.5.4.9 Sexism

As women the participants struggled with inherent sexism. There were a comparatively small number of women present. However, sexist language and sexual harassment took place from both sides. My research has shown that the participants did not always practice what they preach. In other words, they did not always model what they said in their behaviour. Particularly woman participants struggled with sexism. They were often interrupted by fellow male participants whilst talking during the workshops. This was often resolved by one of the facilitators, especially Matthew. In the night, however, the facilitators were not there to support the women participants. They were then chased by the men at night. Sexism, however, went both ways. At the AIDC Womens School, the women harassed the male chef (only male present) by using sexist language and body language – so when outnumbering the male participants, the women participants became sexist too. However, the citizenship education was not as successful as it could have been.

From interviewing and observing AIDC female participants, I believe the environment was too 'macho' for the few women present. Several of the AIDC female participants told me that they 'felt intimidated' by the male participants. The AIDC facilitators were committed to ensuring that women 'spoke up' during the training, but they failed to get an appropriate balance of men and

women. Consequently, it proved difficult to fight sexism and 'practice' equality between the sexes in a male-dominated environment. This must be regarded as a failure of 'walking the talk': what is needed here is increased presence of women and a stronger focus on women's issues.

The aforementioned issues conspired to make the learning process difficult for the participants. Despite this, the participants constantly reflected on their own experiences whilst trying to make sense of socio-economic problems around them. There exists evidence that the participants were learning to struggle. They had become more active after they joined the education programmes. Some of them had started asking critical questions, yet, they were not thinking critically. This is potentially dangerous because they might act before thinking or act on other people's ideas, and this is why critical citizenship education is so important.

5.5.5 What did they learn?

Having analysed the various things that the participants struggled to learn and why they struggled to learn. This part will analyse what the participants learnt through the process of deliberate education, dialogue, solidarity and action. There were clear indications of participants' ability to build the campaign and the new knowledge that they developed. Here I will discuss some of the indications of skills, attitudes and knowledge that the participants had learnt. People can struggle without these kinds of qualities, but with them they may be strengthened in their efforts. This section will evidence the ways in which the participants enhanced their efforts to strengthen their organisations and civil society.

On the evidence of my research findings that were presented in chapter 4, the participants claimed to have learnt to: present the organisation and campaign; run the campaign; develop women leadership; develop non-sectarian attitudes; develop solidarity; understand substance abuse; develop critical thinking, shifting perspectives and changing perceptions; develop awareness; understand HIV/Aids as a political and public issue; understand international institutions; understand Anti Retroviral treatment; understand constitutional rights; understand rights in the workplace; understand health and safety in the workplace; unlearn race prejudices; ask questions and look for contradictions; and develop strategic action.

Was there evidence that the participants were learning to struggle? It seemed that they found it easier to explain issues that were close to their hearts, such as alcoholism and its effects, sectarianism and a united front approach, as opposed to globalisation and neoliberalism. The participants had learnt 'struggle' knowledge in terms of:
- Constitutional rights

- Rights in the workplace
- Health and safety in the workplace
- International institutions
- Anti retroviral treatment
- Performing their role as leaders
- Ask questions and look for contradictions
- Critical thinking, shifting perspectives and changing perceptions
- Individual problems as political and public issues
- Unlearn race prejudices
- Substance abuse

In order to run the campaign and organisation, the participants had learnt practical 'struggle' skills on how to:
- Present the organisation
- Campaign or run the campaign
- Develop strategic action
- Develop women leadership
- Develop non-sectarian attitudes
- Develop solidarity

Given the aforementioned, there existed evidence that the participants learnt to struggle. How does all of this relate to citizenship education? It does not necessarily relate to citizenship education as such but it does relate to critical citizenship education. These issues pertain to citizenship education because in order to be a *citizen* rather than a *subject* people need to know: the constitution, neoliberalism, critical thinking, campaigning skills and so forth. If 'critical education' is constructed to encourage questioning and action for change (Ledwith, 2007, p. 8), then the *knowledge* and *skills* is defining the education as citizenship education.

As indicated before, their struggle to learn interfered with their learning to struggle. This suggests that the education could have been better. The following sections will critically analyse what the abovementioned 'struggle' knowledge and 'struggle' skills means.

5.5.6 Critical citizenship education

All the facilitators wanted to develop a new layer of leadership that were active and had the ability to think critically. Xolani suggested that the participants must learn to question 'why things are the way they are'. The participants had learnt to reflect on their own experiences but did they

think critically? Some of the quotes above have shown that some participants learnt to criticize government and business. Such criticism appeared to be built on what the facilitators had argued in the workshops (for example: economic globalisation; neoliberal policies cause job losses; nationalisation of basic services creates jobs). Such criticisms were not necessarily a proof that the participants were thinking critically. The explanations often did not go beyond sloganeering. Critical thinking demands a thorough analysis of power, based upon which he or she takes collective action for change.

Clearly, the programmes aimed to advance citizenship. Yet, the facilitators did not claim to offer 'citizenship education' as such. What kind of citizenship did they try to awake? To further help me analyse the three programmes, I built on Foucault (cited in Inglis 1997, p. 4) that suggests 'there is no truth without power'. Similarly, Inglis (1997, p. 3) argues that in order to understand the notion of 'empowerment' and 'emancipation', one must begin with an 'analysis of power'. Based on what Inglis (1997) suggests, I asked: Did the education programmes advance 'active' citizenship along the lines of inclusive citizenship and 'empowerment' (i.e. developing capacities to act successfully within the existing system and structures of power) or 'critical' citizenship along the lines of 'emancipation' (i.e. critically analysing and resisting oppressive structures of power) (p. 4).

5.5.6.1 Learning to struggle for active citizenship, as personal empowerment

Having interviewed and observed the participants over a one year period, I discovered that lessons learnt in workshops were applied in action, and lessons learnt in action became the basis for theorising in the workshops. This is what Freire (1990) called praxis. This involved: unlearning race prejudices; learning to ask questions and ask for contradictions; learning strategic action. Personal empowerment meant to beat 'alcoholism' and to come to terms with 'domestic violence'. A telecommunications worker, Eugene eagerly explained: 'At the training, I learnt to identify the signs of a person who is using or abusing drugs. You can often see it on the persons' pupils and you might notice mood changes. They always come to me. I take them to the local rehabilitation clinic where they can get further support'. Another farm worker expressed: 'information about substance abuse has helped me do preventive work with my own children and in my community'. Abused women that attended the AIDC Womens School, had established 'networks of women in the communities' so that they could 'support each other' and 'create strategies to fight the violence' they found themselves in. For example, they had formed 'groups of women', to avoid 'being alone' when leaving the house in the evening. Similarly, they had contacted a TAC clinic where they got free condoms that they in return would distribute to their 'sisters'.

Biesta (2005) argues that critical pedagogy has helped us understand that 'there is no individual emancipation without societal emancipation' (p. 55). Did the participants' learning constitute more than individual, personal empowerment and shifts towards a critical understanding of the underlying causes of unemployment, unfair working conditions and the absence of a decent public health service?

5.5.6.2 Learning to struggle for critical citizenship, as collective emancipation

The aim, in all the organisations, was not personal development but to 'change the system'. Collective emancipation demanded that the participants made connections about power. Collective emancipation meant struggle directed at changing the system. The participants acquired 'attitudes', 'skills' and 'knowledge' to make the struggle more successful. This involved making connections about power, understanding the importance of solidarity and transmitting the information to the workplace, community and home. Participants such as Eugene, Candice, and Sipho argued that they took the struggle beyond the organisation. In fact, they took the struggle to 'the taxi' [public transport], 'their homes', their 'communities' and to 'their workplaces'. This suggested that the participants had developed a critical consciousness in the sense that they had realised the need for 'tolerance' and 'solidarity' for public good. Practical 'experiences' had taught Candice and Clinton that people are 'all the same'. Hence, they had started 'confronting' racist attitudes from 'family members and 'work colleagues'. Thus, critical thinking; shifting perspectives and challenging perceptions happened when people were brought together in workshops as citizens and activists and they got to interact and talk to each other. Nospiho said she had learnt to 'stand up and defend the workers' (Interview, 22 February 2006). In other words, she felt a sense of representative democracy through her leadership role.

Finding herself in opposition to the government, Chantal in TAC noted that 'the government wants to control everything' and that they want to 'shut down' TAC because it is 'challenging the government'. She stated that by TAC 'educating people from the rural areas' about HIV/Aids, access to ART and rights, they were 'actually doing the government's job'. She argued that the 'government' was 'against' TAC because the government 'fear people being too educated...because they need to have control'. Chantal noted that 'the neoliberal policies that cut public spending on health prevent that all people have the opportunity to a life in dignity as we are promised in our constitution'. Knowledge about the constitution and neoliberalism was important as it helped them understand that the struggles for employment, fair working conditions and a better public health service were linked. The aforementioned examples were indications that the participants had started to understand how power works. This was the first step towards defining constraints and opportunities needed to create the appropriate context for collective action.

Cock (2007) argues that characteristics such as 'competitiveness', 'social inequality' and 'war' are commonly accepted as 'natural' (p. 4). Similarly, problems such as poverty, unemployment and crime are often seen as 'natural'. In practice, such a view implies that we have no control over the 'disaster' and hence, that there is nothing that we can do to change it. Newly acquired insights allowed the participants' to uncover the 'naturalised' world. The participants' managed to think unlike 'the system' notwithstanding the power of dominant ideas. The participants did no longer view poverty, inequality, unemployment, sexism as something 'natural', but as problems that were created by people. This meant that they could possibly change it. From participation in deliberate education and taking collective action, the participants learnt that personal troubles such as unemployment, unfair working conditions and lack of access to health are not just private, individual afflictions but public issues that must be tackled collectively, because they involve confrontation with powerful institutions (Wright Mills, 1959).

What the participants learnt amounted to more than individual empowerment. Collective emancipation meant struggle directed at changing the system. This demanded solidarity and understanding on their part. Participation in the education programmes shifted them in the direction of a critical understanding of the underlying causes of unemployment, unfair working conditions and the lack of a decent public health service. From collective action and deliberate education the participants had developed critical consciousness and positive 'attitudes'. Chantal in TAC stated 'I feel it has opened my eyes'. Such attitudes are very important as they help the participants uncover 'the natural' (Cock, 2007). Having joined TAC, she 'started seeing the world from other people's perspectives' to the point where she felt she had to 'do something to better the lives of other people'. From collective action, Clinton had learnt to accept other people 'despite different languages' and cultures, as he said 'these are things that we can't experience by ourselves'. This relates to what Freire (1990) referred to as humanisation. In order to become more humane, the participants had to learn about empathy and solidarity for other people besides themselves. In rebuilding their own humanity the participants felt able to help other people restore their humanity. This is the start of liberation. Through the process of becoming more active and critical thinking, the participants in the three organisations had a taste of what liberation meant.

5.6 Conclusion

As a relatively new democracy, South Africa is still trying to develop more democratic practices amongst its people. This means strengthening democratic practices in government and civil society. This is closely tied up to citizenship. Yet, the institutionalisation of rights and citizenship does not automatically lead to greater inclusion of the poor. Therefore, citizenship can be used

for exclusion as well as for inclusion. This is why non-formal deliberate education continues to be important to South African civil society. In order to develop active citizens it is necessary to focus on issues that matter to citizens, namely: poverty, unemployment, access to basic services such as health.

The three programmes could be characterised as popular education (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999). The participants struggled to learn when the content was too ambitious, both in terms of capacity and level of difficulty. This was because the participants found it hard to digest the large quantity of literature, which in turn made it difficult for them to explain things in detail. The result was that they often succumbed to 'sloganeering' in which they started to copy the information without necessary being able to explain the subject. Even though the participants sometimes struggled to put theory into practice because the process of facilitation was compromised, my research has shown that non-formal deliberate education and 'learning democracy by doing' can contribute to the democratic practices in South Africa by supporting grassroots people in Cape Town in their struggle to hold the government accountable by reclaiming their constitutional rights. The three programmes signalled an educational 'impulse' with values such as solidarity, tolerance, rights and responsibility.

Across the organisations, the participants acquired skills, attitudes and knowledge that they put to use in their struggles to reclaim their constitutional rights. Here, deliberate education can play an important role in building a strong civil society by supporting grassroots struggles. As evidenced in my research, the participants learnt when the educational topics were related to their lives and experiences. This required that the process was participatory and allowed for questions and answers by the participants. Topics such as substance abuse, domestic violence, sectarianism, united front and TRIPS, were close to their hearts because they had personal experiences with such issues through their activist work. Additionally, the participants learnt skills that were useful for campaigning in their respective organisations. The participants acquired skills in the fields of campaigning, communication, presentation and speaking to the public. They learnt about rights and responsibilities. This confirms that it is essential that the facilitators practice what they preach, and that they take into account the thoughts and feelings of the participants (Biesta, 2005).

The three programmes did encourage active citizenship for empowerment and critical citizenship for emancipation, as suggested by Inglis (1997). Across the three organisations, all the participants became more active. The education was a stepping stone in the right direction for developing citizens that could question 'distortions' and 'falsities' and challenge oppressive structures (Brookfield, 2005, p. 206). The participants did no longer view poverty, inequality and

unemployment as something 'natural'. They were no longer 'passive' citizens. To some of the participants, this involved 'passing on the message' and taking the struggles for social justice to their workplaces, communities and homes. Such struggles promoted equality regarding class, race or gender. Yet, other participants had a long way to go.

In the next chapter I give recommendations for further deliberate education in the three organisations. I suggest a direction for further research on deliberate education in the three organisations, and I will also address theoretical issues highlighted by the research.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

Since 'The Battle in Seattle' (when a myriad of organisations and individuals protested against the World Trade Organisation) in November 1999 the world has witnessed the development of global social forces – a revival of the broad left – that are attempting to create a network of social movements to lessen the negative impact of, and challenge, the injustices of economic globalisation (Callinicos, 2003). In challenging beliefs such as There Is No Alternative (TINA) to neoliberalism, slogans such as 'People before profit' and 'Another world is possible' became trademarks for the global social justice movement. The movement is locally based and globally networked. The AIDC, the TAC and parts of the grassroots in COSATU see themselves as part of this movement in South Africa.

South Africa is a polarised society with big differences between rich and poor. 15 years into democracy, people are still waiting for basic service delivery (housing, water, electricity and sanitation). In South Africa there is a deadline for building and preparing for World Cup 2010. The deadline for housing is 15 years overdue. Over the past 10 years, the unemployment rate has skyrocketed largely due to imported East Asian goods in comparatively labour-intensive sectors, such as textiles, clothing, footwear, appliances and electronics, and capital-intensive production techniques in other sectors, specifically mining and metals.

Broken dreams and unfulfilled promises about a 'better life for all' (African National Congress election slogan for 2004) are the main contributing factors to the discontent that South Africa is currently experiencing. Dissatisfaction over lack of service delivery has sparked off waves of protest across the country. On 30 August 2004, thousands of township residents *toyi-toyied* to the N3 outside Harrismith and blocked the highway between Durban and Johannesburg. These protests made the Free State the breeding ground for service delivery protests. Since then, protests have spread like fire to other parts of the country. Already in 2009, more service delivery protests took place then the whole of last year (e-tv, 2009).

In the past, anti-apartheid and anti-racism, as well as anti-capitalism for some people, were a set of beliefs that fostered solidarity and unity. Such beliefs made it possible for people to imagine a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society, as an alternative to apartheid. Non-formal

education was a vital contributing factor to the development and the expansion of such ideas. Before 1994 non-formal education was concerned with 'education for democracy', that is preparing people 'for' democracy. On this basis, it was my intention to enquire what kind of education exists that aims to build civil society by promoting social justice and social reconstruction in the new democracy.

Given this, I was concerned because such deliberate education played a fundamental part in the struggle for democracy. More especially, I was concerned because democracy is a process. Democracy is something that one makes and builds. It is not a once-off achievement. It is a system that constantly needs to be nurtured and renewed. Today, democracy is often taken for granted. In fact, even dictatorships want to be described as democracies. Democracy means freedom, equality and participation. Ultimately, people learn about democracy by acting on their rights. Therefore, I decided to investigate if in post-apartheid education, there was an 'educational impulse' that targeted primarily the citizen ('homo civicus') rather than the person looking for work ('homo economicus') (Wildemeersch, Finger & Jansen 2000).

My PhD research question asked: *Non-formal citizenship education in Cape Town: struggling to learn or learning to struggle?* This thesis critically analysed the political education programmes in three organisations. The organisations focused on supporting the efforts of people who are unemployed (AIDC), shop stewards (COSATU) and HIV positive people (TAC). These organisations were all at the forefront of the Western Cape Coalition and the 'Make Poverty History' campaign, which aimed to build a united front against unemployment and poverty. At the heart of these campaigns were the issues of privatisation, taxation and government spending.

The facilitators in the organisations wanted to build a 'better world' with more socio economic equality, full employment, fair labour laws and a dignified public health service. As part of their strategy, the facilitators aimed to develop an 'active' and 'critical thinking' new layer of 'leadership', who would, as Xolani suggested, question 'why things are the way they are'. In all three organisations the primary aim was not merely to change 'people's hearts' (Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 97,103) but to get rid of poverty by changing 'the system', either through reform or putting an end to capitalism in its entirety. Building on their constitutional rights the facilitators in the three organisations believed that the government has a 'constitutional duty' to take effective measures to ensure jobs, decent wages and safe working conditions and a dignified public health service because the government must, according to the constitution, 'respect, protect, promote and fulfil' all people's rights to equality, dignity and life. The participants attended the education on a voluntary basis. Many of them were poor and unemployed, and some also HIV positive. They campaigned because they believed in, and were committed to, social justice. The

participants' main concerns were to run the campaigns and lead the organisations in order to achieve their goals.

This chapter will present the conclusion of my research project. Firstly, I provide a summary of my findings. Secondly, I suggest a direction for further research on deliberate education in the three organisations. Thirdly, I critique and present implications for education in the three organisations. Fourthly, I address theoretical issues highlighted by the research. Lastly, I highlight what matters to education for civil society, and I conclude by arguing that adult educators have a responsible role to play in contributing to building civil society by giving people the tools to enhance the struggle for greater social justice.

6.2 Summary of Education in the Three Organisations

6.2.1 An 'educational impulse' targeting primarily the citizen

My study has shown that there still exist people that are committed to the old tradition of non-formal education for civil society. This research has evidenced that there exists an educational initiative that targets primarily the citizen rather than merely the person looking for work (Wildemeersch, Finger & Jansen, 1998). This study has also evidenced that even though the so-called apathy is rife there are educators that are committed to education that can support action for social justice. The three programmes signalled an educational 'impulse' with values such as solidarity, tolerance, rights and responsibility. Even though the participants mostly learnt critical attitudes as supposed to the practice of thinking critically - they had also become more active. However, the process of teaching needs to reflect the democratic relations aspired to. This was not always the case.

6.2.2 Popular education as citizenship education

As I pointed out in chapter 2, Coare and Johnston (2003) suggest that popular education is an important tool for active citizenship. This statement supports my argument that popular education in South Africa can be categorised as citizenship education. Hence, this was my starting point for building my argument about why popular education in the three organisations was indeed citizenship education. I used citizenship education theory as a lens. The facilitators in the three education programmes, however, did not refer to the education as citizenship education. They consistently called it popular education and political education. The facilitators entrenched themselves within the popular education framework. The rhetoric and claims that they advocated were for popular education. The issues that the participants spoke about however, were citizen

issues. Clearly, the programmes aimed to elevate quality of citizenship, even though the facilitators did not claim to offer 'citizenship education'.

6.2.3 Popular education in theory

Having established what type of non-formal education existed and the fact that all the facilitators categorised the training as 'popular education', I made this an important point of reference. I investigated popular education as an explicitly political form of non-formal education, based on the fact that Johnston (1999) views popular education as an increasingly important reference point for learning for active citizenship. Drawing on Crowther, Martin and Shaw's (1999) three defining characteristics of popular education, I asked: Were the programmes rooted in the 'real interests and struggles of ordinary people'? Were they 'overtly political and critical of the status quo'? Were they committed to 'progressive social and political change' (p. 4)? In chapter 4 all the facilitators revealed that they regarded the education to be popular education. Chapter 5 critically analysed if the three programmes could be characterised as popular education (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 1999).

6.2.4 Not always popular education in practice

The three education programmes could be characterised as popular education in terms of intentionality. Yet, there was room for improvement in terms of the execution of the facilitation process. As I have already alluded to in chapters 4 and 5, the participants personal struggles were: Struggling to do report backs; Struggling with subject matter; Struggling with language; Struggling to come to terms with feminist ideas; and Struggling to think critically.

The fact that the participants found it difficult to learn was related to structural factors, caused by the facilitators and the leadership in the organisations, such as: Making assumptions about prior knowledge; Giving too much information too quickly and sometimes at a level that was too difficult; Not always encouraging participation (but allowing the same people to speak); Not practicing what they preach; Not allowing enough time for discussion and reflection; Intimidating behaviour; Educators were not educated to be educators; Lack of a clearly defined and shared understanding of what constitutes democracy; and Tensions between organisational commitment and facilitator intentions. The education often presented itself with a gap between facilitators' claims and practice. Nevertheless, there existed evidence that the participants had learnt.

6.2.5 Acquiring knowledge and skills for campaigning

In chapter 4 and 5, I showed that the participants had acquired 'struggle' knowledge about: Constitutional rights; Rights in the workplace; Health and safety in the workplace; International institutions; Antiretroviral Treatment. They had also developed 'struggle' attitudes such as: Awareness; Asking questions and looking for contradictions; Critical thinking, Shifting perspectives and changing perceptions; Starting to see individual problems as political and public issues; Unlearning race prejudices; and Working to prevent substance abuse. My research also showed that they had learnt practical 'struggle' skills on how to: Present the organisation; Campaign; Develop strategic action; Develop women leadership; Develop non-sectarian attitudes; and Develop solidarity.

In chapter 2 (section 2.9.1.3), I quoted Gramsci (1971) who stated that: 'all men are intellectuals…but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals' (p. 9). Here, the grassroots intellectual consists in 'active participation in practical life, as constructor, organizer "permanent persuader" (Gramsci. 1971, p. 10). The intellectual for Gramsci is not a segregated elitist intellectual group but one that establishes the unity among a group of committed activists. My study showed that some participants such as Eugene and Candice had started to realise the meaning of grassroots intellectuals in practice. They were not organisers of a revolutionary party as such but they were committed to their job as shop stewards. They took the fight for a better society beyond their workplaces and into their communities and homes. Through organising they had become people that constantly debated and engaged other members of society in discussions about politics, democracy and culture. They had started to play their role in developing a more democratic society and culture by fighting for workers rights and for a society free from racism.

6.2.6 Learning about the constitution

Highlighting the importance of knowing the constitution, Chantal said that: 'knowledge is power'. Chantal further noted that neoliberal policies contributed to cuts in government 'public spending on health', and that this 'prevented that all people have the opportunity to a life in dignity as we are promised in our constitution'. Through their participation in the education as well as through their campaigning, the participants in the three organisations had started to realise (although it differed amongst them) that fighting for their rights involved challenging the power of the government. Through their campaign, the participants have started generating a sense of how democracy is about seeking to operationalise their constitutional rights.

6.2.7 Starting to see that the personal is political

Biesta (2005a) argues that critical pedagogy has helped us understand that 'there is no individual emancipation without societal emancipation' (p. 55). Through their individual and collective experiences, the participants' started to realise that to bring about change, they needed knowledge, collective action and strategic targeting. Consequently, that they, collectively, had the potential power to affect change. The three organisations became a space and a community where the participants felt a sense of belonging. Clinton in TAC had realised that he was not alone with HIV and that some people were worse off than him. This made him want to help others who were less fortunate. In joining the education and fighting for their rights and needs, the participants realised they were not alone with their troubles. Through this process, private troubles were turned into public matters (Wright Mills, 1959) in which they could garner wider solidarity. This is particularly pertinent in the new democracy.

The TAC argues that constitutional rights must 'respect, protect, promote and fulfil' all citizens rights to equality, dignity and life. The AIDC agrees, but highlights that a right to life in dignity also involves the right to work. In COSATU, workers rights were the main issue. Overall, learning about unemployment, workers rights and the right to a dignified public health service were linked to understanding the 'troubles' in the broader context of the political economy of the new democracy. The fight for jobs, workers rights and a good public health service were a fight of poor people against the stigma and disabilities caused by poverty itself and so it was implicitly part of the fight against poverty. This is why the three organisations formed part of the Western Cape Coalition campaigning to 'Make Poverty History'.

6.2.8 Becoming more active

Based on my observation, I noticed that across the organisations the participants gained a sense of self-awareness and pride as they improved their ability to organise workshops, present their campaigns and their organisations to the public, and plan and organise the future campaigns in their area. They also became far more vocal when presenting their group work during the workshops. In return, this made them more active.

Looking at past struggles in South Africa and internationally, solidarity was key to building a strong movement. My research revealed that participants had started to assume agency in a variety of ways. The facilitators and the participants thought it important to kindle 'active' and 'critical' [critically thinking] citizens that form part of a 'new layer of leadership'. To them, a *citizen* was someone who takes part in decision making in their community and as well as influencing

policies at governmental level rather than merely a *subject* who votes in elections and obeys the law. To them, citizenship extends beyond participation in elections.

Commonly, in the course of acquiring new skills, attitudes and knowledge participants experienced a degree of personal transformation. They claimed to know how to put to use their newly acquired knowledge when facing their own personal and collective challenges – both their individual 'struggles' and collective issues were confronted with an increased degree of agency. For example, Eugene claimed that he had changed his personal problematic drinking habits while at the same time started assisting other people facing substance abuse, both at work and in his community. Women in the AIDC had developed their own collective groups of women. They had support groups and in the workshop they distributed their cell numbers and contact details so that other women could join them.

6.2.9 Showing signs of critical thinking

The three organisations also sought to develop an active, critically-thinking new body of leaders. Despite facilitators' claims to have encouraged critical thinking there was little evidence that the participants did, indeed, fully develop their abilities to think critically. The male participants grappled with coming to terms with feminist ideas, and elect to put their actions behind such ideas. The women also discriminated against men when they were given the opportunity. Although there was not much evidence of critical thinking, there were indications that the participants, although it varied amongst them, had started to question politicians, government policies and neoliberal policies.

Chantal questioned the government because her experiences told her that the government was scared of educated or well informed TAC people. This was something that she had realised because she was engaged in politics. Others, such as Candice and Eugene, had also started to play an active role in developing a more democratic society through their job as shop stewards but also by constantly debating politics with others. Bongi did not trust the politicians because he thought they only presented their own view and experiences of the world. Eugene criticised the government for not spending enough money on public health service because he could not afford private medical care for his sick mother. Thando was concerned about the increase in contract work because he said it brought about more unpredictable employment situations for workers, as opposed to permanent employment. This is the type of popular education learning that Crowther, Martin and Shaw (1999) talk about when they say that people can learn about questioning dominant power when taking part in education and collective action for social change.

Additionally, the participants in AIDC and TAC did not have access to further education or have a sustainable job, and therefore, the education provided them with information and training they would not ordinarily have had. This is not to suggest that non-formal education should be a substitute for formal education. More specifically, the aim is to highlight the importance of, and impact, that non-formal education, more particularly popular education, can have in activating citizens (Coare & Johnston, 2003) and developing critical thinking people that are able to point out 'what's wrong with what currently exists, on illuminating omissions, distortions, and falsities in current thinking' (Brookfield, 2005, p. 206).

6.2.10 Evidencing active emancipation

As I already alluded to in previous chapters, Inglis (1997, p. 3) suggests that in order to understand the notion of 'empowerment' and 'emancipation', one must begin with an 'analysis of power'. As I have shown above the participants became more 'active' because they had learnt to run their organisations, which involved them speaking to the public about their campaigns and about politics in general. It was through acting in solidarity *with* other activists that such knowledge became meaningful. They had also learnt about the constitution. This type of learning was not revolutionary or groundbreaking in any way, it was merely teaching them about their rights as enshrined in the constitution. When such knowledge led to clashes with the state and its protectors, it became radical. Such knowledge developed emancipated citizens who assume agency, and who work towards removing the obstacles and constraints that stand in the way of a dignified life.

6.2.11 Evidencing signs of critical emancipation

It was also my intention to find out if the participants' learning constituted more than individual, personal empowerment and had shifted them towards a critical understanding of the underlying causes of unemployment, unfair working conditions and the absence of a decent public health service? Knowledge about the constitutional right to a life in 'dignity' and starting to understand neoliberalism helped them understand that the struggles for employment, fair working conditions and a better public health service were linked. The participants had realised that they were stronger when standing together on common issues. This indicated that the participants had started to understand how power works. This was the first step towards defining constraints and opportunities needed to create the appropriate context for collective action. Yet, only when acting upon their constitutional rights did such knowledge actually become radical.

However, when the participants' knowledge about the constitution was turned into action, they found themselves in opposition to the government. In such a context, their knowledge combined

with action had led them to clash with the state. Chantal in TAC said: 'the government wants to control everything' and they want to 'shut down' TAC because it is 'challenging the government'. She stated that by TAC 'educating people from the rural areas' about HIV/Aids, access to ART and rights, they were 'actually doing the government's job'. Chantal contended: 'the neoliberal policies that cut public spending on health prevent that all people have the opportunity to a life in dignity as we are promised in our constitution'.

Some participants felt they had undergone major personal transformation. Chantal in TAC stated 'I feel it has opened my eyes'. Having joined TAC, she 'started seeing the world from other people's perspectives' and she felt she had to 'do something to better the lives of other people'. This was the beginning of the development of emancipated citizens who assumes agency to remove not just constraints but the system, structures and relations of power that gave rise to the conditions of oppression.

6.3 Recommendations for Future Research

The questions that remain unanswered by the research are:

- What would the learning look like if the facilitation *process* were different (with a focus on quality of learning, not quantity of content; more participation; consistent building on participants' experiences; and dialogue constructed for developing new knowledge)?
- What could be achieved in terms of building women leadership if the selection process / efforts to find women participants were different (ensuring equal numbers of men and women)?
- How would such a process affect the sustainability of the organisations, their membership, their campaigns and their success?
- What does it take for the relationship between theory and action to become further activated? What is needed to ensure that the participants' theoretical knowledge about doing report-backs does translate into action?
- What does it take to balance popular education (that is politically motivated and sides with the oppressed) with critical thinking?

In order to achieve this, the selection process, facilitation process and choice of content in the three organisations would have to change. If this was to happen, I would further propose that more research is done. The aim would be to ensure that the facilitation process is enhanced. Therefore, I will suggest action research because it is participatory and action orientated (McNiff & Whitehead, 2002; Kember, 2000). Action research can help reinforce the importance of

dialogue in the three organisations. I suggest that a researcher should overlook, push and ensure the following issues:

- Ensure a fair selection process (that is, ensure an equal numbers of men and women participants. This would mean 'to go the extra mile' to recruit women participants.

- Ensure that the participants understood the subjects by constantly using dialogue as facilitation method. This would involve intensive building on participants' experiences and require that there was enough time for them to explain the issues using their own words.

- Do monthly informal interviews with the participants to find out what their thoughts were on the education provided.

- Do a focus group in each organisation once a month with the various facilitators and participants to make sure that underlying issues and tensions would arise, and be dealt with immediately.

Additionally, focus groups are a strategy that involve intensive discussion and interviewing of groups of people on a given focus or issue (Goldman & Schmalz, 2001). This, Johnson (1996) argues, has the potential of 'raising consciousness and empowering participants, rupturing rather than reproducing underlying relations of exploitation and domination' (p. 517). Padilla (1993) argues that 'Through group discussions it is possible for individuals to make connections between personal troubles and social structures and conditions' (p. 153). My purpose in using a focus group would be to encourage debate around what really matters in contemporary education for civil society. For example, topics such as domestic violence and substance abuse were of high importance to the participants. Such issues helped them connect the personal with the political. A focus group could possibly offer new insights into how learners experience the course in contrast to how programme developers and facilitators see the same course (Johnson, 1996; Padilla, 1993; Goldman & Schmalz, 2001).

For example, the focus group could consist of one course developer, two facilitators, and ten participants from each organisation. To capture any progress or setbacks in the programmes I would recommend one focus group per month, over a one year period. If provided with enough time and resources, I would like to do one focus group with participants and facilitators from the three organisations together. All of this could help underlying issues and tensions to surface and be dealt with immediately, and enhance the facilitation process.

6.4 Implications for Education in the Three Programmes

The principles of popular education according to Crowther, Martin & Shaw (1999) require that it ought to be based on the participants' experiences; overtly political and critical of the status *quo*; for progressive change (p. 4). While, as I have shown, these were also the aims of the facilitators in the three organisations that I studied, I observed a tension between what they aspired to do, and what they actually did. They all claimed to provide popular education which is participatory by nature and rooted in the experiences of the learners. However, instead of clearly building on existing knowledge they sometimes resorted to lengthy presentations that made no obvious connections with existing experience and understanding. Based on my findings in chapter 4 and my analysis in chapter 5, I have specific critiques, and hence, some implications for the three programmes.

6.4.1 Putting *process* in focus

The issues at stake in the three organisations were that sometimes there was little consistency between claims made and practice. The facilitators claimed to build on participants experiences but this did not always happen. When the facilitators asked participants to recount their experiences they could then build on such stories in order to:

- show how the personal is political
- demonstrate how to extend experience to insight
- show how to reflect critically by asking questions and seeking answers

My research has shown that the participants found it difficult to learn because the constraints were too overwhelming. Despite the fact that AIDC participants criticised institutions such as government, business, international bodies such as the IMF and the World Bank and the media, such critique was often limited to sloganeering rather than real understanding and argument. The participants had problems learning when the facilitators took shortcuts without giving them a chance to debate and explore an issue at their own pace.

Notwithstanding that the AIDC facilitators constantly asked participants to relate the issues to 'their own lives' using their 'own words', they did not always give the participants sufficient opportunity to think about the questions before giving an answer. In chapter 5 I showed that some AIDC inputs were too long – varying from 30 minutes to 45 minutes. At the beginning of the workshop the participants asked questions, but their interest faded significantly as the session went on until the end when they all kept quiet (Journal, AIDC, Bloubergstrand, 30 January – 1 February 2006). If the learning process were to become more successful this would have to

change. It could possibly help if the facilitators start practicing what they preach (building on participants experiences; there are no experts, everybody has valuable experiences and so on; and use dialogue that opens up the possibilities for critical thinking and the development of new knowledge). The participants need time to reflect and formulate questions and responses. It is therefore critical that the facilitators are sensitive to silences that derive from people thinking. Even when the facilitator has to wait longer for an answer the quality of the response is worth the wait.

Owing to the difficulties that the TAC experienced in getting the education programme up and running I observed far less workshops in TAC than I did in AIDC and COSATU. Yet, based on the TAC course outline it is clear that they, like the AIDC, were overly ambitious in respect of content. In chapter 5 I showed that some TAC inputs were long – varying from 30 minutes to 45 minutes. Firstly, the irregular TAC workshops were a problem. It could help if they take place on a regular basis. This requires a carefully selected and committed membership. Secondly, the volume of the teaching content could be down-sized. Thirdly, it might help if the facilitators start building on participants' experiences.

The political education on issues such as globalisation and neoliberalism were important, but topics such as domestic violence and substance abuse were of high significance to the participants and helped the participants connect the personal with the political because through dialogue with other people they realised that they were not alone (and that the personal is political). In fact, the participants did not have to learn in-depth and decontextualised knowledge about globalisation and neoliberalism to make those connections. However, in order to understand the pressures that lead to an increase in domestic violence and alcohol abuse, they would have to understand the contours of neoliberal globalisation.

My research has shown that the participants learnt when the issues were rooted in their experiences. The COSATU participants often referred to the workshop on substance abuse. Across the three programmes this was the second workshop (after the AIDC Womens School) with almost full participation during the workshop. In the two workshops, nearly all the participants spoke out because firstly, they could easily relate to the topics from experience, and secondly, they felt sufficiently at ease with the facilitators and with fellow participants to share very personal stories over the full duration of the workshops. Based on this, my recommendation is that participatory education works best. In other words, consistency with the principles of popular education is vital.

6.4.2 Avoiding the trap of banking education

Freire (1990) said that 'Without dialogue there is no communication and without communication there can be no true education' (p. 73-74). Freire (1990) stated: 'dialogue is the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world' (p. 70). Therefore, such dialogue 'cannot be reduced to the act of one person's "depositing" ideas in another' or turn into 'a simple exchange of ideas to be "consumed" by the discussants' (Freire, 1990, p. 70). In South Africa, worker education in the early 20th century was led by radicals from political movements (Cooper, 2005a & Bird, 1984). Cooper (2005a) notes that despite the radical aims of these educators they often relied on conventional education methods such as 'lectures followed by discussions' (p. 7). Such methods were also evident in the education in AIDC, COSATU and TAC. This problem goes back to the fact that dialogue was not highlighted enough. The facilitators' education often succumbed to 'banking education' (Freire, 1990) or imposing solutions rather than problem posing education. This led to the participants' use of sloganeering rather than real explanations, when trying to explain concepts. The use of banking education worked against the facilitators' vision to develop critical thinking activists.

Similarly, Thompson (1997) contends that linked to radical adult education and critical thinking is the development of 'Really Useful Knowledge' that can help people understand the nature of their present condition and how to transform (p. 145). Really Useful Knowledge is political knowledge that can be used to challenge the relations of oppression and inequality from which the oppressed suffer (Thompson, 1997). In order to produce Really Useful Knowledge it is fundamental to encourage critical analysis and critical thinking rather than merely reflection on experience. This requires educators who are social actors. Their role is to identify existing knowledge, to build on this knowledge and produce new knowledge by encouraging reflection so that the old and new knowledge get integrated.

As I have outlined above, some of the facilitators in the three organisations acted as ideologues by pushing ideas rather than people who bring about the process of creating Really Useful Knowledge. Hence, they often failed to encourage dialogue that could develop critical thinking, which is the first necessary step of developing Really Useful Knowledge.

6.4.3 Making *follow-ups* of report backs a priority

There should be a follow-up process in each organisation to ensure that the participants do report backs to their branches after every workshop. This was lacking in COSATU and TAC. In the AIDC workshops, the participants would constantly build on their previous experiences from

follow-up processes in their R2W branches. Therefore, my main concern in COSATU was not the facilitation process, but rather the absence of report back meetings, and the fact that the facilitators did not follow-up on whether such a process was actually taking place. All the facilitators emphasised the importance of 'passing on the message' to the workers and to the community overall. None of the COSTU facilitators did report back sessions. This responsibility was left entirely to the participants. At one workshop, one facilitator asked 30 participants if they do report-backs. Only 4 participants answered yes. The others said that they did not know about it or that they did not have enough time (Journal, COSATU, 24 November 2005, COSATU).

In COSATU, lack of report-backs was the main problem. This means, the learning never connected theory and action / action and reflection. Freire advocated for praxis (reflection and action), the lack of report-backs signalled a short-circuiting of praxis. Praxis can broadly be translated into the combination of theory and practice. Freire (1990) interprets this as meaning that a revolution is achieved with praxis, in other words, with *'reflection'* and *'action'* directed at the structures to be transformed. Human beings have agency to resist ideological domination and to change the world. Praxis is a process with the potential of bringing about revolutionary change. Many of the participants' in the three organisations did not make the connection between theory and action.

Across the organisations, the focus on unemployment, substance abuse, health and domestic violence touched the lives of all the participants – it was 'rooted in the struggles' of all the participants. As I pointed out in chapter 1, such topics are relevant to South Africa today. Based on my research I believe that there ought to be a follow-up process put in place in all three organisations to ensure that all participants take full responsibility in 'passing on the message' in the workplaces and beyond, and to translate learning into action. This is pertinent in order to ensure that skills and insights are passed on and to build a strong civil society. Therefore, it would be useful if the facilitators inform all the participants of their responsibility regarding follow-ups. This requires that the facilitators constantly check that such report-backs are taking place. They could check this in each workshop, and when possible, visit the workplaces where such report-backs are supposed to take place.[69] If this is not feasible or too costly then they could keep in touch with other people in the branches to make sure that it happens. Also, it could be useful to allocate a certain time for follow-ups on the report backs at each workshop event. The facilitators could also 'rehearse' struggle action in the workshops – for example by giving explanations and examples of how to do report backs. Only when the participants start to do

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[69] This would require time and money, which is something that they do not have.

report-backs, have they reached the point where theory is translated into action. It is about linking ideas with action.

6.4.4 Putting a *sexist free* education environment in focus

Despite democratic freedom and the establishment of a world renowned constitution, South Africa still has high levels of abuse against women. The rights of women are fundamental human rights that are integral for the reconstruction and development of South Africa. Sexism was a problem in AIDC and TAC. In AIDC sexism was specifically evident in the intimidating behaviour of some of the male participants. However, sexism was also evident at the AIDC Women's School whereby the women used vulgar language and body language against the male chef (only male present). Considering that they aim to build women leadership, this is a matter of deep concern. It is contradictory behaviour in so-called progressive workshops, but it also confirms that the participants bring their ideas to the workshop, and so their behaviour reflects their experiences. Yet, it is up to the facilitators to ensure that such behaviour and attitudes are minimised. This is an example of how the oppressed start to internalise the oppression by taking on the attitudes of the oppressor (Freire, 1990). On the contrary, Freire (1990) notes that in order for the oppressed to become liberated they need to liberate themselves as well as the oppressor. This means getting rid of attitudes that originates from the oppressor (that is, classism, racism, sexism and so forth).

The AIDC Women's School was the workshop with most participation in any of the three organisations. It was the only workshop where all the participants (all of them women) spoke out, and felt sufficiently at ease with the workshop situation to share very personal stories over the full duration of the event. In this context, one of the AIDC guest facilitators suggested that more 'Women Schools' would help build 'confidence' amongst the women (Journal, AIDC, Women's School, 27-30 September 2005, Melkbosstrand). Personally, I do not believe that lack in confidence on the part of the female participants was the problem. Rather, the high level of participation at the Women's School confirmed to me the necessity of ensuring an equal number of female and male participants in the AIDC workshops. Having attended the AIDC Women's School and observed the level of participation and excitement amongst the women, I realised the depth of intimidation that the female participants felt at regular AIDC workshops.

It is also possible that since men and women are socialised in different ways, the Womens School worked so well because there was only women there. Both men and women have particular beliefs and behaviours, and some of these beliefs only become visible when confronted by the opposite beliefs. Therefore, to only have a Women School, would be to provide education 'in a bubble'.

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6.4.5 Eradicating intimidating facilitator behaviour

Some AIDC participants told me that they sometimes felt 'stupid' asking questions during the workshops (Personal communication, AIDC, Jan 30 –Feb 01 2006, Bloubergstrand). These comments were made just after the workshop where facilitator John went on a rampage criticising the facilitators and participants for their inability to build the campaign. AIDC facilitators were aware of the fact that the participants sometimes felt scared to ask questions and kept encouraging participants 'to ask questions'. Some participants preferred to ask questions in between the workshop sessions, but there were others who told me that they felt uncomfortable asking any questions at all. If an educational programme is to succeed the educators have to 'practice what they preach'.

On several occasions I observed facilitators eagerly explaining an issue to one of the participants after a workshop session. This indicated to me that there was a problem since the participants felt uneasy about asking questions during the workshop. Considering that many of the participants felt uncomfortable about asking questions, I believe such questions should be addressed at the beginning of the following input, so that all participants would get another opportunity to comprehend and debate the various issues. I suggest that the facilitators make use of dialogue and storytelling. This requires that they root the topics in the experiences of the participants. This could help make the content less alien to the participants, and hence, increase their participation.

6.4.6 Developing *practical* material

In all three organisations, it could be useful to develop a course outline for participants with an overview of what they will have to go through from beginning of the course to end. This could give them a feeling of start and end. It could also be useful to develop a dictionary with a brief explanation of all the key terms and concepts that they encountered in the workshops. Such a sociological dictionary pocket book could entail a brief explanation (from A to Z) of concepts such as democracy, globalisation, International Monetary Fund, neoliberalism, united front and World Bank. This would be a useful pocket size reference book that the participants could carry in their bags.

6.5 What Matters to Education for Civil Society Today?

This part will highlight what matters to education for civil society today. What is it that people need to learn to change society? What is important to democracy is the education of people in

civil society and the encouragement of their participation in democratic processes. Firstly, it is important that people learn about their rights in order to claim their rights (employment, safe working conditions and a living wage, a decent health service, access to clean water, hosing, free quality education for all and so forth). Secondly, it is important that people learn what their responsibilities are in terms of playing their role and contributing to their communities and society in general. Lastly, but equally important, people need to act on those rights and responsibilities to avoid becoming inactive and succumbing to the 'culture of silence' that Freire (1990) talks about.

Broadly, citizenship participation in South Africa often suggests obedient citizens that pay their taxes and whose participation does not extend beyond electoral voting. South Africa also has a large number of people committing crime and violence. It is important that all citizens (including politicians) become more responsible human beings with a social conscience in order to be better equipped to participate creatively and constructively in finding solutions to the socioeconomic problems in South Africa, namely: poverty, unemployment, domestic violence, crime and substance abuse. In order to do this it is necessary that people develop the ability to think critically as supposed to just criticising the government.

6.5.1 Education for social justice

One 'cannot speak of citizenship without speaking of democracy', and in a country like South Africa with big inequality, one 'cannot speak about democracy without speaking of social justice and equality' (Martin, 2002, p. 18). TAC facilitator Lindile said: 'People need to share' (Journal, TAC, 08 July 2005, TAC). AIDC facilitator Matthew agreed: 'Someone lives in a shack because someone else lives in a mansion'. This view is about thinking relationally and dialectically, as one person is affected by another person's actions. This is the essence of the ubuntu concept, which I explained earlier. Hence, it matters how we think and act. We are all responsible for making our communities a better place to live. It is time to speak about the 'redistribution of wealth' rather than 'elimination of poverty'.

Therefore, deliberate education for civil society needs to take issue with such inequalities and assist people in building a strong movement for progressive social change that can hold the government accountable by exposing corrupt councillors and politicians, and in this way pressurise them to deal with poverty. With an increasing number of MP's 'living it up' in fancy houses and posh cars, some of them also having committed crimes of corruption, ordinary people are losing faith in the political establishment. In order for a democracy to work it is pertinent that central figures such as government officials (and educators) are good role models.

6.6 The Role for Adult Educators

This part will suggest that adult educators have a role to play in building civil society by contributing to the struggle for greater social justice by providing people with the appropriate tools needed for organising themselves and their communities. The xenophobic attacks that spread in 2008 throughout many of the country's provinces showed that poverty and unemployment accompanied by increasing food prices can ignite further violence and victimisation of foreign nationals. It is partly an educational task to help make such anger constructive and hopeful. A democracy needs an active and independent civil society. This requires that people are able to critically analyse what is happening to them in order to make calculated choices for social justice. This presents adult educators with the opportunity to provide people with the analytical tools to enhance their struggle for democracy and citizenship. Therefore, it is also essential that adult educators encourage bridge building, dialogue and solidarity between organisations in civil society to build a strong movement with common goals.

6.6.1 Back to the future for adult education

At a time when active citizenship is being held up as an objective, neoliberal policies like GEAR push education further in the direction of training for work in the promotion of economic growth. Lawy and Biesta (2006) argue that the 'renewed interest' in questions of citizenship has been 'allied to an educational discourse' where the emphasis is on 'outcome' rather than 'process' (p. 34). Lifelong learning is mostly conceived of in reductively instrumental and economistic terms, and citizens wanting to empower themselves for active citizenhood are left to struggle on their own; working with young people is reduced to surveillance and preparation for employment – often for jobs that are not there. This is not the way to activate citizens and motivate them about the potentials of a democratic society.

Non-formal education played a vital role in the struggle against apartheid. If one is to believe that ideas, organisation, political and economic development brings about fundamental social, political and economic change, then, it is critical that adult educators focus on non-formal education for adults, particularly young people. Despite high levels of poverty and crime the participants in the three organisations were trying to do something positive and constructive with their lives whilst focusing on their rights and building solidarity and unity in their organisations, campaigns and communities.

von Kotze (1998) suggests that '

One of the great strengths of adult education is critical dialogue: assisting people in the process of examining personal assumptions and social prejudices, to become aware of the ways meanings are constructed within social frameworks and personal perspectives, and then to listen with an open mind and open heart, critically aware of the conditioned basis of one's responses and interpretation (e.g. attributing more value to a viewpoint because it is uttered by a man, or a white person, or an English-first language speaker) (p. 164).

It is time to return to the social purpose tradition in adult education. Here education is seen as a key resource in the struggle for democracy. In this view, adult learners are understood to be citizens and social actors. Such a curriculum ought to reflect shared social and political interests. It is essential that knowledge is actively and purposefully constructed to advance collective interests. Its pedagogy is based on dialogue rather than transmission. Critical understanding is seen as something that is vital, and is leading to social action and political engagement. Here adult education exists in a symbiotic relationship with social movements. Without the necessary education for democracy, the situation is akin for people to become active and critical thinking citizens. In other words, a democracy needs people who will challenge the status quo and take social action for social justice.

I believe that adult educators have to rethink what adult education is, what role it is going to play now and in the future and who is going to be responsible for its funding and structure and how this task may be linked to the on-going struggles that still exists in South Africa (and elsewhere) for empowerment and social and economic justice. Holst (2002) highlights that supporting social movements could help adult education meet its goals of enhancing lifelong education if one sees these movements as essential to good citizenship (and I would add to the struggle for more democracy). Those adult education practitioners committed to an adult education concerned with social justice and equity view the current interest in social movements and civil society as a revival of what adult education traditionally used to be about.

Motala and Vally (cited in Kallaway 2002) are calling for economic redistribution to help develop education and argue that social movements are re-emerging as a result of increasing opposition to globalisation and corporate capitalism. The 'Seattle syndrome' is directly linked to the search for social justice and I would suggest that it is indirectly linked to adult education.[70] This

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[70] The Seattle syndrome refers to the WTO protest that took place in Seattle in November 1999. This protest led to a revival of the left across the world and sparked off protest against economic globalisation. See Callinicos (2003) for more on this.

movement questions the power of the free market and neo-liberalism with many people calling for greater state spending on basic public services. In a country such as South Africa one cannot simply ignore the growing problem of unemployment and how adult education could play a useful social role in trying to help people gain better skills, become more employable but also assist them to better understand their environment in order to forge progressive collective change. Therefore, at a time like this, when struggles over access to service delivery are rife in the new democracy, it is even more important that adult educators become part of the movement for social justice. This involves providing people with the necessary tools to help them struggle better, but it also demands solidarity. Freire (1990) argues that solidarity requires that people enter into the situation of those with who they are in solidarity. This means fighting at the side of the oppressed to transform the objective reality which has turned them into people who sell their labour only for others to reap the benefits.

My study has shown that non-formal citizenship education is still important. Whilst Coare and Johnston (2003) argue for learning for citizenship, I have suggested that there is a need to focus on critical citizenship education. Learning for democracy is important but deliberate non-formal education for democracy is critical. I will argue that learning about democracy should not just be incidental. There has to be deliberate education intervention to ensure that democracy is strengthened and that people learn about their rights and how to put them to use. In order to stay critical and touch with what is happening at grassroots level, this education ought to be non-formal and independent from the state. In a country like South Africa, such education is even more important, given the history of oppression and the fact that the vast majority of people are still poor. A commitment to such education is very different from the current debate about active citizenship, which is held up as an objective whilst neoliberal policies like GEAR push education further in the direction of training for work to promote economic growth.

6.6.2 Adult educators in support of a vigorous civil society

Knowing and understanding the constitution played an important role in the three organisations. Personally, I believe the democratic state is responsible for teaching citizens about their constitutional rights. I also believe that independent education has limitations related to funding and support when applied to larger areas. My study showed that the three organisations faced serious challenges such as lack of funding. The R2W campaign launch and some R2W workshops were postponed due to a delay in funding from foreign donors. TAC had problems getting the leadership programme off the ground. The first education that took place was in July

2005. By May 2006 only three of the envisaged workshops had materialised. This partly reflects difficulties in organising and funding for the TAC Leadership School.[71]

For example, popular education is often understood as an attempt to develop an 'anti-hegemonic' culture (Kane, 2001, p. 15). Yet, Kane (2001) notes that the popular education movement in Latin America has learned the limits to what it can achieve and that popular education in itself cannot change society. When applied to a larger scale it needs state support and this tends to depoliticise it. Yet, I believe that independent education serves a purpose in developing a critical thinking citizenry. Considering the political nature of the three organisations education programmes, I believe it is important for them to remain in control of what they are doing, and stay independent from the state in respect of funding and facilitating. On the contrary, South Africa is today a democratic country and there should be no reason for any of the three education programmes and their campaigns to be regarded as anti-government initiatives. In fact, a representative democratic government should welcome and support the education initiatives and their campaigns, because they are indeed pro-social justice and pro-democracy and pro-rights enshrined in the South African constitution. These are critical issues in a country, where people have brought about the end of apartheid, but where class exploitation still continues and historical dynamics persists to perpetuate racial discrimination.

AIDC and TAC are criticised by some in the ANC government and some of its supporters for being anti-government. COSATU and TAC are at times also criticised by other grassroots movements such as the APF, the AEC, the SECC and the LPM for being too supportive of the ANC government. Whilst I did not have the space in this thesis to further engage in this debate, my research has evidenced that the participants in the three organisations have become more active and that they are asking critical questions concerning the government. Given that the participants have learned to see unemployment, decent wages and safe working conditions, and a dignified public health service as pertinent issues to democracy, they have started generating a sense of how democracy is related to rights.

Particularly, the TAC has built its campaign on the right to practice democracy in a country with one of the most progressive constitutions in the world. Whilst AIDC and TAC can be understood as 'oppositional' movements it is actually helping to consolidate democratic practices in civil society. Having been encouraged to learn how issues are linked, the AIDC and TAC are meeting and building links, however new and fragile, with other organisations dealing with critical issues such as poverty and unemployment. They are practically showing that they have a broader

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[71] See sections 4.13.3, 4.13.4 and 5.5.4.7 for more on this.

understanding of democracy and how it is linked to standing up for ones rights and becoming active in ones communities.

6.6.3 Where to in the nearest future?

The participants in the three organisations developed critical awareness about corrupt politicians and governments' backlog in service delivery. They had developed awareness about power and privilege in the new democracy. The leaders who fought for democracy in the past now find themselves in a situation where democracy is being used to hold them accountable. The issue of democracy must be understood as linked to the role of the relatively new democracy in South Africa today. For example, at the 2004 TAC Congress, activists repeatedly called out 'no treatment no vote'. The LPM had 'no land no vote' as one of their slogans during the 2004 election. I attended other grassroots meetings in Durban and Cape Town in 2003-2006 over water and electricity cut offs, and rent increases. At these meetings, people shouted, 'no water no vote', 'no electricity no vote' and 'no homes no vote'. I would suggest that these movements must be understood as part of the same struggle for the poor and the marginalised.

It would be deterministic to suggest that AIDC, COSATU and TAC will continue to go from strength to strength. Historically, like all social movements and organisations, they face many challenges as they continue to evolve. Given their ongoing commitments and the challenges that they face, perhaps the three organisations (and their education programmes) should reflect upon where they came from, where they are at, and where they want to go and crucially what they can realistically expect of their participant base. As such, further research could contribute (practically) to the three organisations and other campaigning organisations and groups in their ongoing struggle for social and economic justice in South Africa.

The ANC stormed to victory in the euphoric atmosphere of the first democratic election of 1994 promising jobs. As they celebrate their 15th anniversary in power and look forward to hosting the World Cup in 2010, the world's eyes are once again on South Africa and on the ANC. Critics point to the rising crime rate, the modest housing programme, the failure of the education system and the poor quality of public services. Controversy also surrounds the affirmative action Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) programme, which led to a 'brain-drain' of skilled people moving abroad in search of a 'better life'. BEE has also failed to live up to its promise of providing jobs for the millions of people who voted for the ANC. Supporters of the new democracy say the ANC is still dealing with the legacy of apartheid: that 15 years is not long enough to judge their performance and that after the euphoria they are now getting down to 'real politics'. In 2009 more

South Africans voted for opposition parties to rule out the possibility of the ANC changing the constitution with a two-thirds majority. What does this mean for the democratic process of the country?

If previous uprisings are any indication, 2010 could be an unpredictable year, especially bearing in mind that some protests in the past eventually lead to profound socio-economic change. For example, the TAC's tireless campaign for access to antiretroviral treatment for HIV positive people started in 1998. With large support from civil society organisations, trade unions, individuals and legal teams, the TAC fought court cases against the government and multinational drug companies. In 2003, the government agreed to provide ART for all HIV positive people in need of treatment. In other words, the TAC has proved that it is possible to promote human rights and democracy through a social movement.

Civil society discontent was also a contributing factor in the 2007-2008 transfer of power within the ANC when Jacob Zuma was elected President of the ANC at the ANC meeting at Polokwane. Shortly thereafter President Mbeki was removed from his position as President of the Republic of South Africa. Perhaps such discontent was not long-lasting or democratic, but it even if it was only shortly explosive in character, it was another sign of discontent. In 2009, the municipal workers went on strike and managed to get a 13% wage increase (e-tv, 2009). There exists growing concern with declining citizen confidence in the political establishment and the failure of representative democracy to ensure equality of opportunity for all.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) (Republic of South Africa, 1996) promises every citizen the right to a life in 'human dignity' and to 'freedom of expression' (Chapter 2). According to the constitution, 'Everyone has the right, peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to present petitions' (Chapter 2). Citizens also have the right 'to have any dispute that can be resolved by the application of law decided in a fair public hearing before a court' (Chapter 2). The Abahlali baseMjondolo shack dwellers' movement has taken their issues to the Constitutional Court via legal proceedings against the provincial legislation).[72] Violent attacks directed at the movements' members and leaders have resulted in 6 deaths so far, with thousands being displaced. The violence directed at the Abahlali baseMjondolo was aimed to drive the movement out of the informal settlement in Kennedy Road, and can only be understood as being politically motivated because it is seen as a rival to the ANC. This attack is a mere confirmation that the government is trying to suppress critical voices

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[72] See Pithouse (2005) and Amato (2005) for further information about this topic.

from peaceful citizens' organisations. At a public meeting held at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, the President of the Abahlali baseMjondolo, Mr Sbu Zikode stated:

Any attack on the movement is an attack on democracy.[73]

If the rights of shack dwellers to voice their opinion is not accepted and respected in the same way as that of citizens living in the suburbs, then democracy is compromised. This means, that the very people who fought for democracy are now fighting against peaceful protesters and legal citizen action. The credibility of the South African democracy will remain in question until the socio-economic inequalities are addressed. This means, jobs, housing, access to water and electricity and a dignified public health service. Even though, the right to access basic services is enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) (Republic of South Africa, 1996), people advocating for such rights are often finding themselves in opposition to the government. In return, this means, unless (oppositional) voices and actions that are raised by social movements and civil society organisations are welcomed as part of the democratic process, the sincerity of South African democracy is in question.

In view of this, non-formal citizenship education ought to be provided by more organisations and movements. If citizenship education is to affect change it is inevitable that it is *critical of the status quo* and that it leads to questioning the assumptions underlying power. Critical citizenship education is education aimed at creating an active citizenry who are both willing and able to challenge prevailing conditions of oppression. Adult educators' role in this is central; they ought to be rooted in movements for progressive change, fighting on the side of the poor. Their role is to help strengthen democracy through deliberate education. This requires filling the gaps that became obvious in my study, such as for example the lack of a clear understanding of globalisation, and connecting it to personal problems such as alcoholism and domestic violence. My main recommendation is that participatory education works best when the facilitators are consistent with the principles of popular education.

Why is it so important to strengthen democracy in South Africa? How can non-formal citizenship education contribute towards this? Looking at the history of South Africa it is clear that the importance of democracy cannot be emphasised enough. At present, there is a lot of protest

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[73] Public meeting with Mr Sbu Zikode presenting an update on the ongoing struggle of the Abahlali baseMjondolo in Kennedy Road, Durban (22 October, 2009, University of KwaZulu-Natal).

over lack of basic service delivery. This means that many people in civil society are not satisfied with their living conditions. This is where critical citizenship education becomes important. Citizenship requires citizens that are able to think independently and act collectively to hold their local councillors and politicians accountable. In other words, a citizen is someone who participates in direct democracy, and who helps challenge and develop the laws governing the country. Therefore, it is important for people to become more active and to learn to think critically, and this can be done through a combination of education (theory) and action, what Freire (1990) called praxis.

Before one can become liberated and start creating what could be, one need to question what already is. This learning is about the questioning of authorities and power relations and realising that activists themselves can acquire expertise, build organisations and take action for change. This is what Freire (1990) called *‘conscientizacao’* or ‘conscientisation (p. 80, 85). Participants’ such as Chantal, Clinton and Candice had become more critically aware of social classes as they realised that they were in a better situation than most people. Through combining theory with action Clinton and Candice had started questioning their racist attitudes and replacing them with anti-racist ones. Through their experiences in the organisations Chantal and Eugene had learnt about the power of solidarity. Awareness raising was a very important part of education in the three organisations.

Non-formal citizenship education for democracy can play a role in increasing people’s critical awareness, which enables them to take constructive action and change their future. Drawing on the history of non-formal education in South Africa, it is apparent that informal learning and non-formal education is important, even though is not necessarily tied to accredited or formalised education. In the three education programmes that I studied, the participants’ did not always learn to think critically and sometimes they were unable to explain globalisation when asked. However, through conscientisation the participants’ developed critical awareness, which is the first step towards critical thinking. They also started to act in solidarity with other organisations and individuals. The participants’ started making the link between theory and action, which is what Freire (1990) referred to as praxis. Thus, the education assisted them in the process of ‘learning to struggle’.

However, while it is vital to develop more critical citizenship education for democracy, the precondition for the success of such education is changing the socio-economic status of the participants / people. The vast majority of people are poor and live in poverty. Poverty and unemployment means less nutritious food for stimulating the brain and less learning-friendly environment (few or no books and computers available in the community). If this situation is not

changed, a new initiative of education for democracy will become less effective. All the education in the world cannot compensate for the need for structural change and social justice.

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Appendices

Appendix A: A Chronology of Adult Education in South Africa, 1910 – 2001

Year	Event
1910	Union of South Africa: a unitary state within the British Empire. First 30 extension lectures delivered by professors of the University of Cape Town.
1912	Formation of the African Nation Congress (ANC) and associated political education of members and the broader public.
1915	International Socialist League (later to become Communist Party of South Africa) formed and began worker education.
1919-1929	Communist Party began night schools and offered literacy classes in various provinces. State repression took the form of court action against night schools.
1938	African College emphasising skill development started by some university students.
1945	Formation of Witwatersrand Federation for Non-European Adult Education. It recommended that night schools receive state subsidies.
1946	State subsidy for literacy provision in vernacular languages, English and Afrikaans.
1948	National Party government in power. Reversed support for night schools for blacks and discouraged NGO and community literacy projects. A Division of Adult Education was created by government to address white interests.
1952	University of Cape Town organised extramural lectures for the public.
1955	Department of Native Affairs given control of African adult education. Makes registration of all classes (irrespective of subsidy) compulsory. The Freedom Charter calls for the doors of learning and culture to be opened for all (Congress of the People, 1955).
1958	Many night schools close due to administrative and financial difficulties.
1961	South Africa becomes a Republic and leaves the British Commonwealth. An illegal night school is opened at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, providing matriculation classes for working black students.
1966	Operation Upgrade of Southern Africa begins with government approval and supplies primers and readers in many African languages.
1969	One of the first commercial literacy providers, Communication in Industry, stated in Natal. It aimed to teach black workers through the English medium.
1970	The University Christian Movement begins community education and literacy classes using Freirean methods.
1971	An Extension Department was established at the University of Natal, Durban. This later

	became the Centre for Adult Education (CAE)
1973	The Institute for Adult Education and External Studies was established at the University of Witwatersrand. (became the Centre for Continuing Education in 1976)
1976	The Department of Bantu Education established a new section for adult education, literacy and night schools. Surveys of activity and evaluations were commissioned. Government revised regulations and made registration of literacy classes compulsory. Regulations about the Afrikaans medium provoked protest and the Soweto Uprising.
1977	Night schools re-opened. 20 Adult Education centres set up. 15 590 learners enrolled.
1979	The Education and Training Act replaced the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The University of Natal's Extramural Studies and Extension Unit expands to the Pietermaritzburg campus.
1981	Non-formal adult education identified for development by state commission. Manpower Training Act addresses training for all workers and provides incentives.
1983	Government White Paper addresses equality of opportunities and standards. The Department of Education implements its own curriculum. The United Democratic Front was launched and began political education work.
1984	The General Education Affairs Act empowers the minister to decide on non-formal education policy and establishes an Advisory Council of Education.
1985	Department of Manpower funded a training scheme for the unemployed. The first anti-apartheid National Consultative Conference was held and gave rise to the call of `people's education for people's power. The Centre for Adult and Continuing Education was established up at the University of the Western Cape.
1986	Progressive literacy organisations formed the National Literacy Co-operation. A Department of Adult Education was established at the University of Transkei.
1988	The Independent Examinations Board was set up. It later responded to the needs of adult education.
1990	The ANC and other political organisations were unbanned.
1991	The Congress of South African Trade Unions adopted a resolution on the basic principles of the education and training system, which also emphasised literacy. The state held that a certificated, vocationalised, non-formal system should articulate with formal education and abandoned the field of literacy.
1992	The progressive National Education Conference called for special redress in ABE. A consortium of 4 universities (DEAL Trust) worked on the development of ABE. The South African Institute for Distance Education was launched as an NGO.
1992-	The progressive National Education Policy Investigation published 12 sectoral reports

1993	including reports on ABE, human resource development and adult education.
1993	The National Training Board published reports on ABET and trainer development. The Congress of South African Trade Unions published Consolidated Recommendations on Adult Basic Education and Training. The progressive South African Committee for Adult Basic Education was launched.
1994	The ANC was voted into government in South Africa's first democratic elections. A new constitution was adopted which enshrined the right to basic education for all. The ANC Policy Framework for Education and Training was issued for discussion. The National Training Strategy was published by the National Training Board which promoted the integration of education and training and idea of an education, training and development practitioner. The Association of Tertiary Sector Adult Educators and Trainers was formed. The new government's Reconstruction and Development White Paper was published. ABET was identified as a presidential project and a task team was formed. The Draft White Paper on Education and Training was published. The Association of Adult Educators and Trainers of South Africa was launched. The National Investigation into Community Education published its report. The first Independent Examinations Board examinations for adults took place.
1995	The University of South Africa established an ABET Institute. A Directorate for Adult Education and Training was formed within the Ministry of Education with a sub-directorate on ABET. The *Interim Guidelines*, South Africa's first ABET policy was published. The National Stakeholders Forum for ABET was established to work with the Directorate.
1996	Sub-directorates of ABET were established in all 9 provinces. The government announced the Ithuteng Campaign, the first literacy campaign, which targeted 90 000 learners with a once-off budget of R50 million..
1997	The Interim Guidelines were replaced by the Policy document on Adult Basic Education and Training and operationalised through the Multi-Year Implementation Plan and 9 Provincial Multi-year Implementation Plans. The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) was established which began identifying the main outcomes for all learning programmes. Some night schools were transformed into community learning centres. The NGO sector involved with ABET started to decline due to funding shortages.
1998-1999	The Interim ABET Advisory Board was established and replaced the National Stakeholders Forum.

	Conditions of Service for Adult Educators were developed.
	Adult Educator qualifications for remuneration purposes were registered.
	The first unit standards-based qualification for adult educators was developed.
	Policy for ABET materials was developed.
	Draft learning programmes for provincial implementation were developed.
	Qualifications and unit standards in 8 sub-fields were registered with SAQA.
	The first assessment of ABET learners via the S.A. Certification Council took place.
	The Ikhwelo Project which aimed to provide ABET to 3000 learners in the Eastern Cape and Northern Province was launched in 1999.
	The Rivoningo Project which aimed to develop good PALCs in the 9 provinces was launched in 1999.
	The Skills Development Act (SDA) was promulgated in 1998 and the Skills Development Levies Act followed in 1999. These acts provided a statutory basis for training of employees and for the funding thereof.
	Twenty five Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) were established by the SDA to regulate workplace education and training.
	The Minister of Education promises to "break the back of literacy" within 5 years.
2000	The South African National Literacy Initiative (SANLI), a literacy campaign targeting 500 000 learners in its first year was launched.
	The Adult Basic Education and Training Act 52 of 2000 was completed.
2001	The National Skills Development Strategy (NSDS) was launched. It aimed to raise the level of basic education of workers in the workplace.
Source: John (2009)	

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

<div style="border:1px solid black; display:inline-block; padding:4px 12px;">INFORMED CONSENT FORM</div>

Researcher:

I, MS Kristin Endresen, am a PhD student in Adult Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) in Durban and I am currently based in Cape Town doing my fieldwork.

My details:

Tel: 0766 899 423

E-mail: endresenk@yahoo.co.uk

Project title: Non formal 'citizenship education' in Cape Town: *Struggling to learn or learning to struggle?*

Location of the study: Cape Town Metropolitan Area

Why this study?

Little research exists on non-formal education (non credited education) for people in civil society. This type of education played a large role in the struggle against apartheid. This study aims to find out how, in education after 1994, there is a type of education that targets the citizen rather than the person looking for work.

Education for 'active citizenship' is one way to develop obedient citizens that operate within the existing power structures and as such contribute to maintain the current power relations. Education for 'critical citizenship' refers to education that aims to develop citizens that are able to think critically and in that way challenge oppression in society (at their workplace, in their organisations and so forth).

Broadly, this is a study of education that promotes activism and critical thinking amongst people operating in trade unions, nongovernmental organisations and social movements.

It aims to find out if such education reproduces old class structures or whether it contributes to developing active informed citizens who can critically engage with, and so change, the society in which they live.

Questions to be answered in the research:

How do organisations in a new democracy go about developing active and critical thinking citizens?

What is it that people need to learn to become active and critical thinking citizens?

How does this type of education contribute towards that?

Research Approach: Interview

Research agreement between researcher and interviewee:

I undertake not to disclose your name.

All the information will be treated confidentially.

The anonymity will be ensured where appropriate (e.g. coded/ disguised names of participants/ respondents/ institutions).

I will not disclose the participants name and HIV status or any other illnesses or disabilities.

This research might involve people who are living in particularly vulnerable life circumstances and I will aim to protect them from any further stress and harm during the interview.

The participants are free to withdraw from the research at any time without any negative or undesirable consequences to themselves.

The data will be stored on my own laptop that only I have access to.

The recording tapes will be locked in the draw in my desk in my room at home (see the above address).

... ...

Signature of researcher   Place   Date

I understand the information stated in this contract. My name will not be disclosed. I allow my information to be used in a confidential manner that will not harm me and my private life in any way, (and I am also aware that the thesis might be published in the future).

... ...

Signature of interviewee   Place   Date

Appendix C: Ethical Clearance Certificate

University of KwaZulu-Natal
Research Office
Govan Mbeki Centre
Westville Campus
University Road
Chiltern Hills
Westville
3629
South Africa
Tel No: +27 31 260 3587
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02 February 2010

Ms. K Endresen
Faculty of Education
School of Adult & Higher Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Ms. Edresen

PROTOCOL: "Non-formal citizenship education in Cape Town: Struggling to learn or learning to struggle?"
ETHICAL APPROVAL NUMBER: HSS/0068/10D

In response to your application dated 27 January 2010, Student Number: **203504650** the Humanities & Social Sciences Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been given **FULL APPROVAL.**

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Professor Steve Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS COMMITTEE

cc: Supervisor (Prof. A von Kotze)
cc: Dr. V Mitchell
cc: Mrs. R Govnde/Ms. T Khumalo

Founding Campuses:　　■ Edgewood　　■ Howard College　　▨ Medical School　　■ Pietermaritzburg　　■ Westville

Appendix D: Interview Schedules

Alternative Information Development Centre
Xolani (40): (Interview, 18 February 2006, AIDC).

Aziza (21): (Interview, 2 November 2005, AIDC).

Carlos (21): (Interview, 2 November 2005, AIDC).

Lunga (26): (Interview, 1 February 2006, Bloubergsstrand).

Senzeni (40): (Interview, 2 February 2006 Blougergsstrand).

Simphiwe (31): (Interview, 30 November 2005, Bloubergstrand).

Sipho (26): (Interview, 2 November 2005, AIDC).

Thando (29): (Interview, 26 March 2006, Mdantzane, Eastern Cape).

Zakes (24): (Interview, 29 November 2005, Bloubergstrand).

Zola (26): (Interview, 29 November 2005, Bloubergstrand).

Congress of South African Trade Unions
Marlon (50): (Interview, 16 March 2006, COSATU).

Candice (32): (Interview, 13 April 2006, Mitchells Plain).

Chardonnay (43): (Interview, 10 May 2006, Ritz Hotel, Sea Point).

Craig (45): (Interview, 17 May 2006, Bellville).

Eugene (35): (Interview, 21 April 2006, Police station, Cape Town International Airport).

Nosipho (61): (Interview, 22 February 2006, COSATU).

Sherrie (40): (Interview, 22 February 2006, COSATU).

Sauvignon (60): (Interview, 10 May 2006, Ritz Hotel, Sea Point).

Treatment Action Campaign
Lindile (40): (Interview, 23 March 2006, TAC).

Bongi (25): (Interview, 3 May 2006, TAC).

Chantal (21): (Interview, 31 March 2006, UCT).

Clinton (43): (Interview, 8 May 2006, TAC).

Gugulethu (32): (Interview, 18 April 2006, TAC).

Hussein (34): (Interview, 11 May 2006, TAC).

Mercedes (21): (Interview, 31 March 2006, UCT).

Toni (31): (Interview, 8 May 2006, TAC).

Appendix E: Research Questions

How do selected organisations in post apartheid South Africa go about developing active or critical [critically thinking] citizens?

What is it that people need to learn to become active or critical [critically thinking] citizens and how do they learn it?

What are facilitators' and participants' understanding of 'citizen' in post-1994 South Africa?

Appendix F: Semi-structured Interview Questions for Facilitators

Tell me about yourself:

What is your background?

How do you see yourself as a facilitator?

How did you get involved in the programme?

What is your role in terms of programme and planning?

What is your role as a funder?

Curriculum:

What is taught? Why do you teach this? [syllabus / content / subject matter]

Where does it take place? How often does it take place?[logistics / where and when]

Who are your target group? Where do they come from? How do you select them? Why do you do it this way? [who, where, how and why]

How is it taught? [teaching methods]

How do you teach them about the various issues? [globalistaion, privatisation, action, critical thinking]

How do you build on the activists own experiences when you are teaching? [just as sharing?/ or sharing to show caring? /or sharing to construct new knowledge?]

How do the issues relate to the participant's own life experiences?

Effect/impact of programme:

What are you hoping to achieve with the programme / workshops?

[Is there a long term or short term objective with the programme / workshops?]

Why do you think this type of education is important? [If so, please explain why.]

What do you think are the most important things that the participants learn from the programme?

Have you noted any changes amongst the participants since they started the programme / workshops? If so, what evidence is there? [how do you know whether or not you have achieved it?]

What is the link between theory (what you teach) and practice (what the participants do)?

Do you think such education can encourage people to participate more fully in the new democracy? If so, please explain how and why this is so.

Critical thinking:

Do you ask the participants awkward questions?

Do you challenge them?

What sort of challenge is this?

Do the participants ask you awkward questions?

Do they challenge you?

What sort of challenge is it?

What happened when people asked questions?

What happened when people did not agree?

Other questions:

How would you improve the programme?

What do you understand by citizenship education?

The government and private organisations are suggesting that there is a need for citizenship education – what do you think? [what do you think it should involve?] [what do you think are the most critical issues that a person in South Africa needs to know about today?]

What does it mean to you to be a 'citizen'?

How do you this one can learn to be a good/active/critical one?

Appendix G: Semi-structured Interview Questions for Participants

Tell me about yourself:

What is your background?

How do you see yourself as a /participant/activist/shop steward?

How did you get involved in the programme?

What is your role in terms of the programme?

Curriculum:

What is taught? [syllabus / content / subject matter] (list the kinds of topics that were covered/what is remembered and how (a key word or a topic?)

How is it taught? [teaching methods/[i.e. language, terminology, relationship between input and interaction, level and so forth.] (if, too academic/give examples)

What do you think about the readings? [i.e. relevance, amount, level and so forth.]

How did they teach you about the various issues? [for example, globalisation, privatisation, how to run a campaign, critical thinking, how to be a shop steward (COSATU only)]

Could you please explain this to me? [Hence, I will point to a particular term in a document or course outline and ask the participants to explain what it refers to]

How did the facilitators build on your experiences when they were teaching? [just as sharing/sharing to show caring/or sharing to construct new knowledge?]

How do the issues relate to your own life experiences?

Effect / impact of programme:

What are your expectations from the programme / workshops? [and have they possible changed?]

What do you think are the most important things that you have learnt from the programme?

What did you like the most? [why so?]

What was the best part of the training? [what were the particular moment (s) that you remember?] [why so?]

What impact has this learning had on your life? [confidence?]

What is the link between theory (what you learn from the course) and practice (in your life)?

Has there been anything special from the course that has helped you in this process? [if so, why this particular issues? how is that important? how have you used what you have learned?]

How and why do you think such education can encourage you to participate more fully in the new democracy?

How do you think this type of education is important?

Critical thinking

Do they challenge you? What sort of challenge is it?

Do you challenge them? [do you ask them difficult questions?] Does this education encourage you to ask questions? [If so, please explain]

What happened when people asked questions?

What happened when people did not agree?

How would you improve the programme? [why this way?] Do they mention alternatives? If so, why, and what kind of alternatives?

 [I explain briefly my study and refer to the term citizenship education that is increasingly used by the South African government.] What do you understand by citizenship education?

The government and private organisations are suggesting that there is a need for citizenship education – what do you think? [what do you think it should involve?] [what do you think are the most critical issues that a person in South Africa needs to know about today?]

What does it mean to you to be a 'citizen'?

How do you think one can learn to be a good/active/critical one?

What do you understand by 'democracy', 'empowerment', transparency', 'accountability', 'stakeholders' and so forth – all these terms that are bandied about? [Do the participants use them in conversations, and if so, do they use them wisely/blindly/sloganeering?]

What is your take on the rape and corruption allegations against Deputy President Jacob Zuma?

Are you in any way involved in the SATAWU strike / or affected by it?

Appendix H: Observation Schedule

AIDC

Leadership Training Course (LTC), Wynberg, Police Quarter, 2004

Youth Camp in Llandudno, 2005

Local Campaign Organiser's (LCO) for R2W, Melkbosstrand, 09-11 August 2005

12 Aug 2005 / R2W forum at Lady Hamilton Hotel, Cape Town

Women's School for R2W, September 2005, Melkbosstrand

The Freedom Charter Conference (part of training for the R2W activists), Milnerton 28-30 October, 2005

LCO for R2W, Bloubergstrand, 28-30 of November, 2005

LCO for R2W, Bloubergstrand, 30 Jan – 1 Feb, 2006

10 years of AIDC conference / R2W launch (was planned for 21-24 March, 2006, but was postponed to June, 2006 due to a delay in funding)

COSATU

The workshops take place Thursday's every second week from 09:00-16:00, COSATU provincial office, Salt River

Proudly South African campaign, 25th August 2005

Political economy (basic), 8th September 2005

How to best use the CCMA, 22nd September 2005

Planned for Occupational health and safety (was cancelled), 6th October 2005

HIV/AIDS workplace programme (cancelled and changed to Industrial Health Research Group (IHRG)), 20th October 2005

Consumer protection (cancelled and changed to shop steward basic training with a focus on substance abuse), 10th November 2005

Shop steward basic training (hijacked by gender based violence and 16 days of activism to get men there and because it's not prioritized by unions), 24th November 2005

World Aids Day (cancelled because not enough people enrolled, only Church memorial took place), 1st December 2005

Basic shop steward training, 23rd February 2006

Planned to have a workshop on Gender Based Violence for the domestic workers union and for farm workers (when I arrived there was no one there), 11th December 2005

Basic Shop steward training, 23 Feb 2006

Substance Abuse, SANCA, 9 March 2006

SANCA (the same participants we supposed to attend, but it turned out to be mostly new activists, and so the facilitator had to repeat the following workshop), 10 November 2005

TAC

The workshops take place Saturdays from 09:00-16:00, TAC provincial office, Salt River

Basic Political Economy, 08 July 2005

How the media works / does not work for activists, 19 August 2005

Political education, (I turned up for the workshop but there was no one there and ended up going to the TAC court case of the women who was raped and murdered), 23 August 2005

Treatment Law Project (we waited for 2 hours before he came, as he was lost), 02 September 2005

Meeting, (I was invited to attend the TAC Political Education planning in Muizenberg, but when I arrived in Muizenberg I received a phone call saying that the meeting was cancelled), 16 January 2006

Since that day, I made several phone calls and spoke to leading activists that I see on other meetings and so forth, but this was the last programme within my research time frame

Appendix I: Document Review

In particular, I reviewed the following documents:

- Department of Education. 2001a, Manifesto on values, education and democracy.
- Department of Education. 2001b, Education Change and Transformation in South Africa: A review 1994-2001.
- Document review for the AIDC LCO training
- Document review for the COSATU shop steward training
- Document review for the TAC leadership training school[74]

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[74] The three organisations document review will be outlined in chapter 4 and 5.

Appendix J: Demonstrations

The farms workers demonstration in Stellenbosch was organised by Sikula Sonke, and the Right to Work (R2W) had a prominent presence

The South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) picket outside the Rex Trueform factory with COSATU and Save the jobs campaign, Salt River, Cape Town 2006

Public sector strike, May 2005

COSATU national strike, June 27 2005

TAC picket outside the conference on 'microbicides' outside the International Convention Centre in Cape Town, 2006

Appendix K: Events

World Social Forum (WSF) in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2005, 20 January, 2005, AIDC

Book launch of Gumede's *Thabo Mbeki and the fight for the Soul of the ANC* (2005), 01 August, 2005, AIDC, Salt River

The launch of the Western Cape Coalition and the Make unemployment and poverty history campaign, Cape Town City Hall, 22 August 2005

COSATU May Day rally, *HIV/AIDS, jobs, uniting civil society,* 1 May 2006, Cape of Good Hope Centre

Additionally, I spent hours around the offices of the three organisations, talking to participants and facilitators. I had meals with participants after training sessions and otherwise. All the while I collected data by observing the participants and the environment in which they operated and recorded detailed notes in my field journal.